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The Gender Gap in the 1996 Presidential Election: An Examination of
Gender Gaps in Public Opinion and Political Communication

A THESIS

The Honors Program

College of St. Benedict/St. John's University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Distinction "All College Honors"

and the Degree Bachelor of Arts

In the Departments of Political Science and Communication

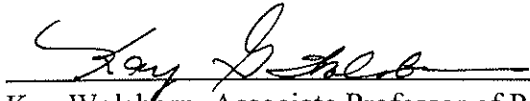
by

Nicole Kroetsch

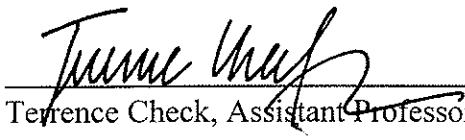
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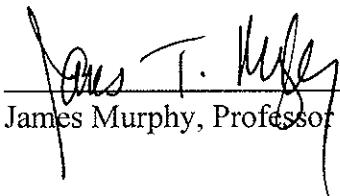
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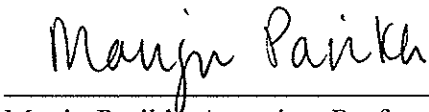
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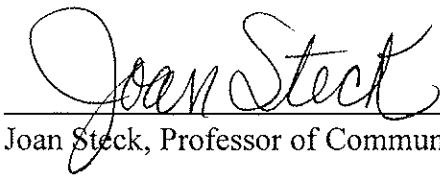
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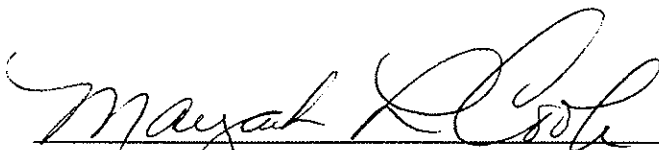
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Abstract

The gender gap in the electorate was highlighted as a distinguishing feature of the 1996 presidential campaign. Because it was recognized as such an important political phenomenon, public commentators, such as journalists, political strategist and scholars, offered explanations for its existence. Two common explanations surfaced: women and men voted differently because they cared about different public issues and women and men voted differently because they understood the messages of the candidates in different ways. When examining these claims within the specific context of the 1996 presidential campaign, their validity is in some ways challenged and in others supported by public opinion research and critical analysis of a sample text. Although there were some political issues, such as political affiliation and support for nationalized health care, that women and men supported in statistically different ways, the way that women and men support such issues as political ideology, government spending, welfare and faith in the economy was strikingly similar. Theories of gender communication support the notion that there are often faulty transactions in political communication when politicians use certain metaphors of sport and the military and combative words. Research has found that when women are confronted with these metaphors they often fail to make the necessary associations or/and feel alienated from political discourse. An analysis of the second presidential debate in 1996 reveals that Dole, a candidate who suffered from lack of support from women, used far more sports and military metaphors than Clinton, who received overwhelming support from women in the electorate. Because a requirement of democracy is enlightened understanding, the use of metaphors of sports and military that alienate those that use the feminine style of political discourse prevents effective democratic rule.

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The Gender Gap in the 1996 Presidential Election: An Examination of
Gender Gaps in Public Opinion and Political Communication

Introduction

Each citizen ought to have adequate and equal opportunities for discovering and validating the choice on the matter to be decided that would best serve the citizen's interest.

-- Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*, p. 112

A fundamental component of the democratic process is informed, enlightened citizens with the ability to make decisions in their best interest. In his book *Democracy and Its Critics*, Robert Dahl calls this requirement of democratic rule enlightened understanding (1963, p. 112). This criterion is a vital part of the electoral process. Enlightened understanding demands more than simple information, however. It also it demands information intelligible to the citizenry. If citizens do not properly understand the matter to be decided, they cannot make an informed choice. Dahl's requirement of democratic rule confirms what many other political theorists of democracy have observed: language is an important consideration in a democracy. In light of this, democratic political institutions must ask themselves how well candidates promote equal opportunities for citizens to understand the policies and political values that they support through the language they use. This question serves as the foundation to this research.

Political theorists have long considered the implications of language on political action in a democracy. In one of the earliest works of critical analysis, Aristotle claims that certain rhetorical devices emerge in political discourse. In *Poetics*, he recognizes that the metaphor is not only a poetic device but also "plays an even more significant role in prose" (1968, p. 59). He claims that the metaphor is a trope, or a figure of speech that decorates and personalizes discourse. In

Rhetoric, he further argues that metaphors privilege some to information and exclude others for “it is the characteristic of a well-directed mind to observe the likeness even in things very different” (1962, p. 108). This exclusive nature of metaphor has been scrutinized by those concerned about the use of language in democracy.

Many classical theorists of democracy have strongly admonished political communicators who use metaphors in public discourse. John Locke, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), chastises public communicators who employ the metaphor. According to Locke, “all the artificial and figurative application of words eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passion, and thereby mislead the judgement; and so indeed are perfect cheats” (1937, p. 34). He claims that the use of metaphor should be abolished in “all discourses that pretend to inform or instruct (and their use) cannot but be thought a great fault, either of the language or person that makes use of them” (1937, p. 204). Thomas Hobbes also warns against the use of metaphorical language in *Leviathan*. Although he cites its ability “to please and delight ourselves and others, by playing with our words, for pleasure or ornament, innocently” (1962, p. 205), he also believes that use of the metaphor can lead to grave abuses in public discourse. Because of this, Hobbes explains that metaphorical language cannot be “true grounds of any ratiocination” (1962, p. 205).

In the twentieth century, critical theorists have challenged these theories of metaphor as merely tropes without philosophical significance. According to Kenneth Burke, metaphor is a “device for seeing something in terms of something else. It brings out the thisness of a that, or the thatness of a this” (1945, p. 503). George Lakoff and Mark Johnson also argue for a broader view of metaphor in political discourse. In *Metaphors We Live By*, they claim that metaphors are

so ingrained in our conceptual system that they structure reality (1980, p. 5). As critical theorist Peter Barry explains, however, language is not a “neutral medium but one which contains many features which reflect its role as the instrument through which the power structure finds expression” (1998, p. 127). Although these theorists present a more expansive view of how metaphors function in discourse, they share Aristotle’s concern for the study of metaphor in public discourse. These theorists ultimately argue that metaphors in public discourse are not merely tropes that privilege some and exclude others; rather, they provide a fundamental form of conception and structure the way in which political realities are understood.

Contrary to Aristotle, theorists such as I.R. Richards and Burke argue that the use of metaphors is not limited to specific groups that have access to privileged information. In *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Richards argues that everyone has the capacity to understand metaphors. He claims that “the ability to use metaphor is innate in all language speakers” (1936, p. 68). Nevertheless, however, metaphors may still function to exclude participation of some citizens. Because they have the power to structure reality, the use of some metaphors may structure a political reality that does not align with individual citizen’s conception of political life. Thus, political communicators who use metaphors often construct a picture of politics that alienates certain individuals in the citizenry.

Because metaphors can reflect, distort or shape political realities, they demand attention in democratic discourse. According to Dahl, effective democracy demands identifying and changing procedures that obscure public access to information or “give some citizens much easier access than others to information of critical importance” (Dahl, 1963, p. 112). Aristotle, Hobbes and Locke suggest that the use of metaphors might grant some citizens access to information that

others do not have. Later theorists like Burke and Barry suggest that metaphors may wield even more power in public discourse by shaping the way in which political realities are perceived by the electorate. For these two reasons, the study of metaphors in public discourse may uncover ways in which political communication can better serve democratic government.

Today, metaphors of sports and military are increasingly used to describe political ideas and phenomena to a democratic public. When one glances through any newsmagazine, newspaper or political journal, metaphors of sports and military constantly describe political events and phenomena. Appendix 1 is a list of such metaphors collected from newspapers, magazines and other sources of political information from February 1997 to May 1997. According to an editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor*, these kinds of metaphors indicate that “the discourse by which our nation defines itself and shapes its future is increasingly reduced to the moral equivalent of football” (April 23, 1997, p. A14). In order to investigate enlightened understanding in American politics today, the examination of metaphors illuminates the disciplines of political science and communication.

If enlightened understanding is a fundamental part of the democratic process, things that interfere with it may have major implications in a nation where electoral politics dictate the leadership of a country. Candidates’ failure to effectively communicate political ideas and visions of the future can result in major trends in electoral politics. A political trend highlighted in the 1996 presidential campaign was the gender gap in the presidential electorate. During this election, it was widely reported that Bill Clinton had a large lead among women that carried him to electoral victory. Early in the campaign of 1996, Robin Toner of *The New York Times* observed that “the gender gap has become a gender chasm in recent months” (1996, p. A6). On

October 4, 1996, Bill Lambrecht of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* explained that “the difference between how men and women view the world has advanced from a strategic challenge for the Republican nominee to a full-blown crisis for the Republican Party” (p. A1). Although many public commentators offered many explanations for this gender gap in the electorate, two major rationales for its existence surfaced: the gender gap was a result of public opinion and it was a result of political communication. This analysis will be an attempt to understand the validity of these claims.

Academic and journalistic accounts of political occurrences present two very different kinds of knowledge and truth, however. The journalist emphasizes the sound bite and treat poll results as news in themselves (Bode 1997, p. 265). On the other hand, the scholar emphasizes research and analysis. As Barbara Herrnstein Smith explains, “scholarship and public journalism, even at their best -- are inevitably as different as their respective objectives” (1992, p. 4). Reports of the gender gap in press emphasize personalities and offer theories from the academy in punch line phrases and titles such as *Men are from Mars; Women are from Venus*. The academy, however, demands much more careful analysis and research about the gender gap in the electorate. The journalist can simply attribute the gender gap in the electorate to such things as differences in public opinion or different kinds of gendered language used by the two candidates. Ellen Goodman can claim, as she did in a November 16, 1996, editorial in the *Washington Post*, that the gender gap existed because Clinton “made a much more concerted and successful attempt to speak the female language” (p. A25). The scholar, however, cannot draw such hasty generalizations.

This thesis represents academic research. Thus, it will critically challenge claims about the

gender gap in the 1996 presidential election made by journalists during and immediately after the campaign. The scholar of political science realizes that statements about a difference in public opinion must be supported with solid polling research, which is always a difficult task when, as V.O. Key Jr. explains, these polls often “do not bring within their range elements of the political system basic for the understanding of the role of mass opinion within the system” (1968, p. 228). The scholar of communication also recognizes that “language” encompasses many rhetorical techniques, signs and symbols that need to be examined in and of themselves. In short, this academic analysis will hold a much narrower focus that is “long on analysis and short on punch lines” (Herrnstein-Smith, 1992, p. 4). Although this analysis uses the observations of journalism to get a snapshot account of the gender gap in the electorate in 1996, it clearly belongs in the academy.

Because the journalistic discourse of the 1996 presidential election emphasized a division between men and women in their political choices, this campaign provides an appropriate context for analyzing the connection between the gender gap in the electorate and gender gaps in political communication. Specifically, this analysis will focus on two areas of research. First, it will examine, define and historically investigate the gender gap in the electorate and then present how members of the women’s movement, political strategists and journalists explained its existence. Next, the claim that gender gaps in the 1996 presidential election were the result of gender gaps in public opinion in 1996 will be critically examined. This analysis will then investigate metaphors as one specific communication device that may privileging some citizens and excluding others in the electoral process along gender lines. It will consist of a content and rhetorical analysis of the metaphors used in the second presidential debate of the 1996 election. Ultimately then, this

analysis will critically examine both public opinion in the context of the 1996 election and the claim that the way in which candidates use language results in a gender gap in the electorate. Identifying procedures such as this is of critical importance to a nation based on the principles of democratic rule.

Yet simply because this analysis is academic research does not mean that it is uncontestable and will conclusively determine what inspired the gender gap in the electorate during the 1996 presidential campaign. The research about gender and the use of language and metaphors is relatively new in the discipline of communication and still demands vigorous examination. As Barry says, the study of gender and language "one of the most contentious areas of feminist criticism" (1995, p. 130). In addition, like all academic research, the focus of this study is narrow. It will investigate the gender gap in the 1996 presidential electorate from two specific angles: gender gaps in public opinion and in the communicative devices of sports and war metaphors. This methodology is limited and thus cannot possibly determine what exactly inspired the gender gap in the 1996 presidential election. It does, however, lay the foundation for interrogating the use of language in politics. At the end of my analysis, I will explore the implications and the limits of this project.

This research uniquely situates itself in both the realms of social science and the humanities. Although this thesis is interdisciplinary, it recognizes and appreciates that the social sciences and the humanities are two different branches of moral philosophy with different expectations (Kuklick, 1992, p. 207). Thus, a two-part analysis that examines polling data and public opinion information as well as offers a content and rhetorical analysis of the metaphors in an actual text delivered by the two candidates is an apt way to merge the two fields. As an

interdisciplinary thesis, the theoretical claims that demand attention in this study are diversely drawn from public opinion research, political communication theory, research on gender and communication and literary criticism.

This research merges the two disciplines of communication and political science in a way that contributes to the democratic search for enlightened understanding in both fields. Scholars of communication emphasize the importance of applying their concepts to empirical study. Scholars of political science emphasize the need to research procedures that prevent effective participation in democratic processes such as electoral selection. This paper will research the following questions: Can the way in which candidates use metaphors serve as an obstacle to democracy by obscuring meaning and preventing enlightened understanding? What does this analysis suggest about the role of gender in electoral decisions and presidential discourse? The theoretical debate about the gendered use of language will be grounded in specific research on a specific text of political communication.

The final section of this research will return to the democratic question that began this analysis. Does the use of language used by some politicians "grant some citizens much easier access than others to information of critical importance?" (Dahl 1963, p. 112) Does the use of sports and military metaphors in political discourse shape the way in which citizens perceive politics? In electoral politics, the way in which decisions are made depends on an informed and enlightened electorate. If the language of politics fails to properly provide information to citizens in a way that they can understand, democracy is ultimately not well served.

The Gender Gap in the Electorate

The gender gap could lead to the greatest upheaval in American politics in a century.

-Patrick Caddell, polling analyst for the
Democratic Party, 1982.

A Historical Understanding of the Gender Gap in the Electorate

The gender gap in the electorate received unprecedented coverage in the elections of 1996 (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p.128; Sabato 1997, p.148). In the 1996 presidential election, those that talk about elections -- journalists, political strategists and political scientists -- examined public opinion polls in terms of gender and often tried to explain why this gap was so large in this particular race (Bode 1997; Crowley 1996; Clines 1996; Duin 1996; Lambrecht 1996; Owen 1997; Sabato 1997; Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997; Winerip 1997; Woodruff 1996). They came up with many different explanations for the existence of the gender gap in the electorate. They often failed, however, to put this gender gap in the electorate in historical perspective or define precisely what they meant by "gender gap." The first section of this research is an attempt to compensate for this oversight.

Although enormously highlighted in the 1996 presidential election, a gender gap in the electorate was not a new phenomenon. Chances are that there was always a slight gender gap in the American electorate, according to Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton in their book *Sex as a Political Variable* (1997, p. 33). When women fought for the right to vote in the 1920's, anti-suffragists were convinced that women's participation in politics would drastically change American political life forever (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees-Leighton 1997, p. 33; Ceaser and Busch 1997, p. 158). Ever since women received the right to vote, there was likely a small

difference in the way that women and men voted (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees-Leighton 1997, p.33). Nevertheless, however, in their book *Losing to Win: The 1996 Elections and American Politics*, James W. Ceaser and Andrew E. Busch argue that “as matters turned out, women for decades after voted nearly identically with men, except that their turnout rates were lower” (1997, p. 158). Because of this, discussion about gender gaps in the electorate had almost vanished until the 1980s when there were differences noticed in both opinion surveys and voting patterns (Ceaser and Busch 1997, p. 158).

The early years of the Reagan presidency reintroduced the idea that a gender gap may, in fact, exist in American politics. When it was first observed in public opinion polling and exit voting patterns, Bella Abzug explained that “the gender gap is both ‘something old’ and ‘something new’” (1984, p.116). While the idea of difference between the sexes is an old perception, new was the existence of a measurable difference between the way in which men and women voted. As a result, in the last decade and a half, political scientists, journalists and political candidates have been tracking gender as a political variable vital to the outcome of electoral politics.

Prior to 1996, all winning presidential candidates received pluralities of votes from both men and women as demographic groups. Political scientists claim that one reason why the gender gap in the 1996 presidential electorate has received so much attention is because the winning candidate did not receive a plurality of votes from both men and women (Ceaser and Busch 1997, p. 158; Pomper 1997, p. 183). Throughout the history of a gender gap in presidential elections, Ceaser and Busch explain that “the gap in presidential politics had always taken the form of pluralities of men and women both supporting the same candidates” (p. 158). According to

Ceaser and Busch, past gender gap differences “ranged from modest to small” (1997, p. 158).

The following figure (Figure 1-1) illustrates gender gaps that successful presidential candidates have received since 1984.

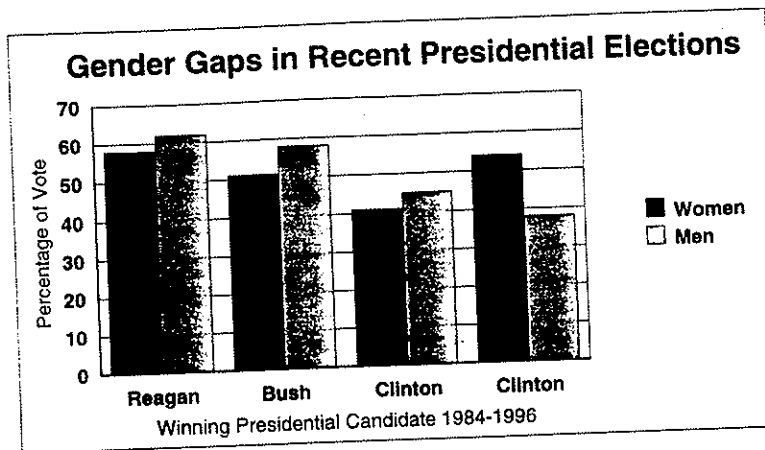


Figure 1-1 “Gender Gaps in Recent Presidential Elections”
Information compiled from *Losing to Win: The 1996 Elections and American Politics*
By James W. Ceaser and Andrew E. Busch

The figure above illustrates that although gender gaps in past presidential elections existed, plurality of both sexes voted for the winning candidate. In 1984, Ronald Reagan was elected by receiving 62% of all votes among men and 58% among women. In 1988, George Bush won 58% of men’s votes and 51% of women’s votes. In 1992, Clinton received a plurality of 45% among women and 41% among men. By contrast, in 1996, Clinton failed to receive a plurality of votes among all men. He received 43% of men’s support, whereas Dole received 44%. Thus making his 54% support from women was enormously significant in his reelection.

The significant gender gap in the presidential electorate in 1996 demands investigation. According to Ceaser and Busch, “only in 1996 did the gender gap reach full-blown proportions in a presidential election” (1997, p. 159) because it marked the first time that a plurality of women

supported a different candidate than a plurality of men (Ceaser and Busch 1997, p. 159).

Although the numbers may have been expanded to highlight a gender gap in the electorate in 1996, Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton explain that it is undeniable that “the gender gap between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole was as large as any that had been recorded” (Seltzer, Newmann, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p.130). Further support for the existence of a significant gender gap in the electorate in 1996 is given by Gerald M. Pomper, Professor at Rutgers University. In his article, “The Presidential Elections,” he articulates that the “most significant change in past voting patterns was the enormous ‘gender gap’ evident in the presidential vote” (1997, p. 183). He, as well as Ceaser and Busch (1997, p. 158), explain that a similar gender gaps in the electorate did not exist in the congressional elections in 1996 (p. 184). It is the premise of this paper that this gender gap in the presidential electorate cannot simply be dismissed among those interested in investigating voting procedures and their relation to democratic rule.

Characteristics of the Gender Gap in the Electorate

The gender gap has several characteristics that need to be understood in any serious study of this pattern of voting. Initially, it is important to remember that the gender gap in the electorate is, in itself, neutral. According to Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton, “it is not necessarily good or bad for a candidate to have a gender gap” (1997, p. 33). Evidence given by other scholars indicates that the numbers of the gender gap do not tell much about the reasons that it exists. Ken Bode of DePaul University and moderator of PBS “Washington Week in Review” explains that the mere existence of a gender gap means little without the context of exit

polls and things like the N.E.S. survey on the way in which both men and women vote (1997, p. 269). By putting such things as the way that women vote under a microscope for polling purposes, polls often overlook that the gender gap in the electorate has to do with the way that both men and women support a particular candidate.

In order to remedy this emphasis on defining the gender gap in the electorate only in terms of women's votes, scholars such as Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton (1997) have highlighted that women are not the only key players in the gender gap in the electorate. When Ronald Reagan experienced sizable support from men, the gender gap that existed that had more to do with the way that men voted than the way in which women voted (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p.33; Abzug 1984, p. 3). In addition, Diana Owens explains that the 1994 mid-term election results was caused by "angry white men" voting in droves and electing Republican men, like Newt Gingrich, to both houses of Congress (1997, p.215). Ultimately then, the gender gap depends on the voting patterns of both sexes.

In any election, voting patterns vary according to a number of factors such as race, socioeconomic class, partisan affiliation, geographical region, religion and so on. As a result, determining the demography of the vote and explaining voting decisions based on this demography is often a complicated endeavor. In his analysis of voting patterns based on demography in the 1996 presidential election, Gerald Pomper examined the outcome of this vote from many different demographic perspectives. When examining the gender gap, he explains that "gender differences in the vote are real, not the result of other social influences" (Pomper 1997, p. 183). Pomper says that the gender gap in the presidential election remained stable among race, age, education levels, partisan affiliation, income and geographic location (1997, p. 183-184).

Figure 1-2 illustrates variations in the gender support based on the specific demographic information of partisan affiliation, marital and employment status for Bill Clinton.

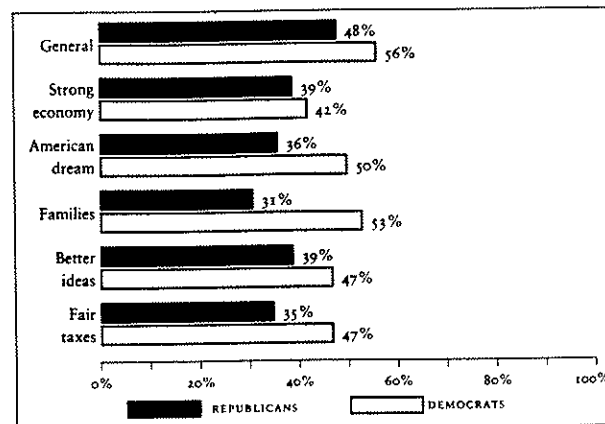


Figure 1-2 "Variations in the Gender Gap" (% voting for Clinton)
Taken from "The Presidential Election " by Gerald Pomper

This figure supports the notion that a gender gap persisted despite demographic differences in the electorate. More women supported Clinton than men in all groups even when divided by his own party (82% of all men Democrats supported Clinton, while 85% of all women Democrats supported him), marital status (40% married men compared to 48% married women), and employment status (45% unemployed men compared to 51% unemployed women). These statistics support that the gender gap in the presidential electorate in 1996 could not be easily explained by demographic differences.

Finally, in these discussions about the gender gap in the electorate, this term has been defined in many different ways. Early definitions of the "gender gap" simply defined it as the difference in the votes cast by women and the votes cast by men. In recent years, however, the

gender gap came to be understood as lead among one sex or another. Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton warn about the dangers of confusing these definitions (1997, p. 128). To illustrate how different definitions of gender gap in the electorate yield different perceptions of its importance, consider the gender gap in the electorate from both these definitions. Table 1-1 presents the exit poll results from the Voter News Service for the 1996 Presidential Campaign. If defined as a lead among one sex or another, the table illustrates that the gender gap in the electorate was a 16% lead among women for Clinton who received 54% of women's vote compared to Dole's 38% of women's votes. On the other hand, if defined as the difference in the percentage of support for an individual candidate, it must be articulated that Clinton received 11% more support from women than Dole and Dole received 6% more support from men than Clinton. Thus, the way in which the gender gap is defined drastically influences its perception and importance to the electoral process.

For purposes of this research, a gender gap in the electorate or in public opinion will be defined as the difference in the percentage of support for a individual candidate or an issue between males and females. The gender gap in the electorate will refer to the total difference in support given to an individual candidate by women and men, as the gender gaps illustrated by Figure 1-1 illustrate in presidential elections between 1984 and 1996. Measurements of the gender gap in the electorate will not be limited to the results of exit poll data, however. In exploring many of the explanations of for the gender gap in the electorate, many individuals referred to polling information before the election that indicated a gender gap in the support that men and women planned to give the two major candidates in the November election. Nevertheless, the gender gap in the electorate in this paper will always refer to the difference in

the way that men and women cast their votes or planned to cast their votes for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole in the 1996 election.

Explaining the Gender Gap in the Electorate

Because the gender gap in the electorate cannot be simply dismissed as the result of demographic differences between men and women, is neutral and needs to consider both the way that men and women vote, this phenomenon has often left political actors searching for explanations. In the past, an easy explanation for the gender gap in the electorate has been that there are some issues “unique to women, such as the Equal Rights Amendment” (Pomper 1997, p. 184). In 1996, however, these issues were not highlighted (Pomper 1997, p. 184; Bode 1997; Busch and Ceaser 1997). In addition, the candidates felt almost identical on issues, such as women’s health and equal rights, that have traditionally swayed the electorate on gender lines (Pomper 1997, p. 184). Thus, in 1996, political interest groups, candidates and the media often offered their own explanations for the existence of the gender gap in the presidential electorate. The following explanations of the gender gap from the women’s movement, political candidates and strategists and journalists will have two parts. First, a historical example of the ways in which these actors have described and managed the gender gap in the electorate will be illustrated. Following this, explanations for the gender gap in 1996 will be explored. These explanations for the gender gap in the presidential election in 1996 will introduce information that this analysis will interrogate.

The Women's Movement

The earliest members of a women's coalition in American political life were suffragists advocating the need for women's participation in electoral politics. Initially, these suffragists countered claims that women would vote dramatically differently than men and thus destabilize status quo politics in the United States (Abzug 1984; Pomper 1997). Most feminist leaders argued that women are simply not "too pure to enter the dirty pool of politics" (National Archives, 1919). A few feminist leaders embraced this idea, however, and responded to these claims by offering the following response: "Women have been cleaning up after men for centuries. If the pool of politics is too dirty, it is time that women cleaned it up" (National Archives, 1919). Thus, the women's movement both embraced and challenged the view that women's participation in politics would greatly disturb American political life. The lack of a sizable gender gap in public opinion or voting patterns prior to the 1980s illustrates that this anti-suffragists fear was largely unfounded, however (Caeser and Busch 1997, p. 159).

As time progressed and voting patterns changed, the women's movement embraced the gender gap in the electorate as a way to effectively change American political life. According to Seltzer, Newmann, and Voorhees Leighton, "the term 'gender gap' was coined, and the phenomenon skillfully promoted, by feminists and women's organizations beginning in the early 1980s, after women started voting more Democratic than men" (1997, p. 31). The observation that the gender gap in the electorate is not just an objective reality that has been identified in American voting pattern but also a means to "skillfully promote" political agendas can have huge effects on public policy and the way in which our country is governed. According to one feminist leader,

for millions of American women who live in poverty or on its edge, the feminization of poverty leads directly to the feminization of politics, a determination that they must have a greater say over the political, economic and social forces that dictate the way they live. The electoral gender gap is tangible evidence of that determination. (Abzug 1982, p. 115)

Describing the gender gap in the electorate as evidence that women voted for different candidates for the spectrum of issues illustrated above merits careful scrutiny..

In 1996, the women's movement seized the publicity that the gender gap was receiving to emphasize their political agendas. Kate Michelman, a women's movement leader and president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, demonstrated how her movement used the gender gap to advancing their interests of ensuring abortion remained legal in the United States. In a November 8, 1996 issue of *The Washington Times*, Michelman told reporter Julia Duin that "abortion was the fuse that lit the gender gap and crippled Bob Dole's campaign from the outset, Dole allowed himself to be handcuffed by the radical right's extreme agenda on abortion, which helped drive women away" (1996, p. A14). This illustrates that the women's movement propagated the widely publicized gender gap for political purposes in the 1996 presidential election.

Political Candidates and Strategists

A successful politician realizes the importance of identifying and trying to explain voting patterns in the electorate. Bella Abzug explains that the gender gap can be used to the political advantage of political candidates. She offers ways in which political candidates, specifically female political candidates, can exploit the gender gap to their political advantage by highlighting

issues that are focused on women's safety and political values (Abzug 1984, p. 115). Another example of how electoral victory was attributed to a gender gap in the electorate can be seen by looking to the 1994 midterm congressional elections and the rise of Republican Newt Gingrich as the Speaker of the House of Representatives. As highlighted earlier, Gingrich and his fellow Republicans capitalized on the electoral power held by men by appealing to what the media deemed "angry, white men." Thus, the overwhelming Republican victories in 1994 were explained in terms of gender (Owen 1997, p. 215).

In 1996, the gender gap not only reflected campaign strategies and messages but also affected them. According to Ceaser and Busch, the gender gap "was not only part of the campaign's output but also part of its input, affecting the strategies and messages of the candidates" (1997, p. 158). President Bill Clinton recognized the important role that communication often plays in electoral decisions and, according to many analysts, secured victory among women with this realization. Sabato explains that "targeted early by the Clinton campaign as the president's best hope for re-election, women in the end made all the difference for the Democrats" (1997, p. 148). Thus, the Clinton campaign made a conscious effort to widen his support from women by continuing to solicit their votes.

Scholars believe that one way that Clinton appealed to women was through his public discourse. In their book *From the Margins to the Center: Contemporary Women and Political Communication*, Patricia Sullivan and Lynn Turner explain that Bill Clinton recognized the power of women's vote and catered to their communication needs as women in a unique way. They examined his performance in answering a woman's question during the 1992 debate explaining that "by avoiding polarized language and images, Clinton demonstrates a respect for openness,

diversity of opinion and the language and culture of the person with whom he was communicating" (1996, p.121). This example illustrates that Clinton understood that the gender gap in the electorate could be controlled by campaign messages. Busch and Ceaser believe that "the pervasiveness of this appeal to women voters led some to identify the 1996 election as a watershed in what was called 'the feminization of American politics'" (1997, p. 158). Ultimately then, Clinton recognized and embraced the gender gap as a way to secure electoral victory in 1996.

Because the gender gap in preference polling worked against him, Dole was particularly attentive to it. As stated earlier, however, a gender gap always is affected by both the way that women and men vote. Early in the 1996 presidential campaign, the race was closer. Although Clinton held a large lead among women, Dole also held a considerable lead among men (Busch and Ceaser 1997, p. 162). As the election drew near, however, Dole began losing this lead among men. According to Busch and Ceaser, this "created a strategic dilemma for Dole of whether to try to cut into Clinton's female support or to try to regain his own lost male support and create a mirror image gender gap" (1997, p. 162). Busch and Ceaser explain that the second strategy would not only polarize the election but would also be historically unprecedented (1997, p. 162). Thus, they explain that Dole took an approach of trying to capture as many women's votes as possible, but this meant that he was "forced to fight largely on Clinton's terrain" (Busch and Ceaser 1997, p. 162).

After the actual election, political strategists also commented on contributing factors to the gender gap in the electorate in 1996 but they balanced this with an emphasis on certain issues. In a May 14, 1997, episode of *Inside Politics*, Republican National Committee Co-Chair Patricia

Harrison and GOP pollster Linda Duvall were interviewed by CNN reporter Judy Woodruff on the gender gap in the 1996 presidential election. In this interview, Duvall referred to the fact that rhetoric played a key role in explaining the gender gap in the 1996 election. Duvall explained that “it is a serious problem. Our policies are not always directed to people. We don’t humanize our policies ... so it’s rhetoric, style, tone, demeanor and issues that are critically important” (CNN *Inside Politics*, May 14, 1997, par. 1). In Duvall’s statement, rhetoric clearly shapes the message and the policies of the candidates. Humanizing politics through the use of language is an imperative of the candidate for political office. Strategists and political candidates know that rhetorical techniques can facilitate this process.

Media

In American democracy, the press plays a vital role in disseminating information about political trends and phenomena like the gender gap in the electorate. Media coverage ultimately affects the course of modern political campaigns. In the age of American democracy approaching the twenty-first century, information about candidates, public policies, ideologies and values are communicated largely through the mass media. According to Dean Alder, author of *The Media and Politics*, “the mass media’s role in providing adequate information for people to make the democratic process work is crucial in today’s world” (1996, p. 11). Those who communicate through the mass media ultimately shape the way in which political actors, both voters and candidates, conceive of political situations. They serve important agenda setting functions and shape what the public accepts to be political realities.

In 1996, the press highlighted the gender gap in the presidential electorate to an

unprecedented extent and offered various explanations for its existence. In his book, *Out of Order*, Thomas Patterson explains that the modern press not only presents political information but also editorializes and analyzes political information (1994). This trend of political journalism appeared to be consistent in the coverage of the 1996 presidential election (Bode, 1997; Crowley 1996; Clines 1996; Duin 1996; Lambrecht 1996; Owen 1997; Sabato 1997; Winerip 1997; Woodruff 1996). Larry J. Sabato, professor at the University of Virginia, explains that “the (media) story of the 1996 presidential election begins with the gender gap, and especially the women’s vote, since women literally overrode men and gave Bill Clinton a second term” (1997, 148). This story about the gender gap in the presidential electorate was often accompanied by an analysis of why it existed.

Like the explanations of the gender gap given by feminist leaders, political candidates and strategists, many members of the press tried to explain the gender gap in the presidential electorate in 1996 by linking it to gender gaps in public policy preferences. Michael Winerip of *The New York Times* illustrates the tendency to explain the gender gap in terms of policy issues. In an August 15, 1997 article, he claims that “the gender gap is in part about social welfare policy. Programs like welfare, job training, subsidized housing and legal aid tend to serve more women than men” (par. 2). Other members of the press offered “women’s issues” as an explanation for the gender gap in the electorate. An article in the *New York Times* explained that

if the Republican ticket is narrowing the gender gap this week, there appears to be a long way to go in Stark County...a place that mirrors national voting trends. This is a place where most of the men and women who make up the backbone of the county Republican Party believe abortion should be legal, a private matter rather than one for politicians. (Winerip, August 15, 1997, par. 15)

This example of how the gender gap resulted from the different public policies offered by candidates illustrates that the gender gap in the electorate was often explained as a direct result of the presidential candidates supporting specific issues.

Political party affiliation was also often offered to explain the gender gap in the electorate by political journalists in 1996. In an article by *New York Times* writer Robin Toner, the gender gap is seen not as a result of a mere difference in the way that women and men vote; but rather as emblematic of larger political phenomenon in party politics. She explains that “the gender gap, the tendency of women to lean Democratic while men tilt Republican, has become a gender chasm in recent months” (April 21, 1996, par. 1). In addition to this observation, many members of the press emphasized that the gender gap in the electorate may have less to do with Dole or Clinton than with a tendency for women to be alienated from the work of the Republican Congress in the last two years. A *USA Today* article from May of 1996 article explained that “Dole is hurt more among women by sinking public opinion of the GOP-led Congress than by his own voting record” (May 13, 1996, par. 13). These explanations of the gender gap in the electorate focus less on the traits and policies of individual candidates and more on the ideologies of party politics.

Some members of the press resisted the urge to define the gender gap in the electorate in terms of particular issues or partisan politics; instead, they tried to define it in terms of the rhetoric used by the two major candidates in the 1996 presidential election. A May 14, 1997 episode of CNN’s *Inside Politics* presented public opinion polls that illustrated that women and men really do not diverge on the major issues of the campaign enough to account for the gender gap in the electorate. In light of this, the observation was made that the gender gap in the electorate may “have less to do with issues than with the language used by the candidates” (CNN transcripts,

par.7). As illustrated earlier, this explanation is one that was also offered by political strategists and political candidates.

The explanations for the gender gap in the electorate offered by the three groups of political actors outlined above make many assumptions. At least two implicit assumptions are often made, but left unexamined, in the explanations of the gender gap in the electorate that link its existence to gender gaps in public opinion or political communication: women and men value different issues and they speak in some kind of a different language. The validity of these assumptions cannot be taken for granted. The next two sections will critically analyze these claims.

Gender and Public Opinion

The gender gap represents the public expression of the values held by women.

-- Bella Abzug

*The Gender Gap: A Guide to Political
Power for American Women*

A common explanation for the gender gap in the electorate has simply been that women and men feel differently about political issues. As the opening words of this section explain, the gender gap in the electorate has often been linked to a gender gap in the "values held by women" (Abzug 1984, 116). In the days following the 1996 presidential election, Ellen Goodman claimed that "women seem to carry with them into the polling booth a distinct view of the economy and caretaking that goes beyond 'jobs' and 'taxes.' It's a connected sense of family and community, a wide lens portrait of their self-interest and the government's role" (1996, p. A25). Linking the gender gap to policy issues and political values as has been done by the women's movement, political candidates and journalists, demands a careful exploration of the way in which women and men support political issues and values.

Unfortunately, this seldom happens in mainstream media reports that are widely publicized in an election. Ellen Goodman's column indicating that women envisioned a different kind of economy than men was not supported by any statistical evidence indicating that women viewed the economy differently from men. In their study, "Campaign '96: The Gender Story; Men, Women and the Course of American Politics: A Roper Center Review and Analysis of the Data," the Roper Center explains that this kind of statement is typical in the press. They say that

since the 1980 presidential campaign between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, differences between women and men in party preferences and issue stands have been an important dimension of

contemporary politics. They have also been the subject of much hyperbole and general misstatement. (Roper Center 1996, par.1)

Thus, according to the Roper Center, although the gender gap in electoral politics has often been linked to gender differences in public opinions, this claim is seldom grounded in social science research.

Because this research will explore the reasons behind the gender gap in the 1996 presidential election, it is important to investigate how women and men felt about issues highlighted in that campaign. In any election, explaining reasons for voting pattern is not an easy task. Sabato explains that identifying why people vote as they do is difficult (1997, p.148). He articulates that exit polls attempt to ask specific questions but are limited in many respects, such as the inability to explain ideological inconsistency. In addition, Arthur S. Goldberg explains that linking causality to voting patterns is one of the most difficult tasks of the social scientist in his article "Discerning a Causal Pattern Among Data on Voting Behavior" in the *American Political Science Review* (1966, p. 913). Nevertheless, however, as social scientists, Goldberg and Sabato emphasize that public opinion polls can help illuminate voting patterns, even if it is impossible to conclusively link them to voting patterns.

There are many sources of social science research on voting patterns, political ideology and public opinion that would offer insight about the gender gap in the presidential electorate in 1996. This study will mainly present research in the form of public opinion polls and data largely gathered by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research who compiled information from Gallup Organization, CNN, the Associated Press, CBS News, *USA Today*, *The New York Times* and *Time*. The Roper Center also relies on information from the University of Michigan's National

Election Studies from January to June 1996. These election studies explore a wide range of information about elections and the electorate. The polls presented in this analysis use a data set of more than 10,000 cases (Roper Center 1997, par. 2). They all have a range of plus or minus 1%. In order to clearly identify the sources of the data, both the dates and the sources of all information will also be presented.

In analyzing the results of the public opinion data, a 5-point decision rule will be employed as it has been by other gender gap researchers such as Seltzer, Newman and Voorhees-Leighton (1997, p.51). The 5-point decision rule is a way to determine whether or not a gender gap in public opinion about a specific issue is significant. If the gender gap is greater than 5 percentage points, most researchers consider it "statistically significant" (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees-Leighton 1997, 51). Because the sample sizes of all surveys presented by the Roper Center in the data below are relatively large, the 5-point decision rule can be used to interpret the following polls.

A note of caution accompanies the following public opinion polling information, however. In the aftermath of the public opinion polling done in 1996, several scholars have echoed age-old criticisms of polling procedures. In his article "Public Opinion and the Election," Scott Keeter, professor of political science at Virginia Commonwealth University, explains the difficulty with drawing conclusions about the will of the public from election polling. According to Keeter, the polls in 1996, like polls during other election years, "are blunt instruments for translating the public's will into public policy" (1997, p. 131). In addition, political scientists like V.O. Key, Jr. warn students of public opinion that "it is not illuminating to speak of 'the public' as a monothetic whole" (Key 1968, p. 234). He explains that there are many different kinds of 'publics' that one

could examine. This analysis focuses on gender, with the acknowledgment that broad classifications of the citizenry by biological characteristics alone cannot solely account for diversity in political behavior. In light of the information presented earlier that a sizable gender gap in the presidential electorate persisted even considering demographic differences, an investigation of how both men and women in the electorate felt about public policy issues merits investigation.

“Women’s Issues”

Support for “women’s issues” has often been cited as inspiring a gender gap based on stereotypes that most women feel differently from men about issues like abortion, children and gender politics. Many assume that women have strong and distinct opinions about such things as access to safe and legal abortions and preferential hiring. Thus, public commentators have often created an abstract category of these issues that are simply deemed “women’s issues.” To illustrate this, a May 13, 1997 *USA Today* article reflects the notion that women’s votes can be easily won by talking about things that would appeal to women:

The Clinton campaign devised a plan to “map out a ‘women’s strategy’...a week of events leading up to Mother’s Day with President Clinton endorsing adoption incentives; the first lady talking up mammography and the vice president joining working mothers in an appeal for family-friendly policies. (par.2)

This statement illustrates that the gender gap is assumed to be based on a notion that women care differently from men about issues that apply to women more intimately than to men.

“Women’s issues” have traditionally been defined as abortion, gender politics, child welfare and education (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, 11-26). Historically,

public opinion on these issues have suggested that the gender gap in the electorate cannot be explained by the claim that women simply have different opinions on these important public policy issues (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p. 5; Roper Center 1996, p.13). Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton reveal that “the gender gap is related to differences on issues, but the issues are not those traditionally called ‘women’s issues’ on which men and women tend to agree” (1997, p.5). In order to understand how “women’s issues” may have contributed to the gender gap in the electorate in the 1996 presidential election, an accurate understanding of public opinion difference between men and women about these issues must be outlined.

The data from the last election refute the claim that women hold opinions different from men on the narrow spectrum of issues known as “women’s issues.” In order to understand how women and men did differ on specific issues, the following sections will examine public opinion polls from the 1996 election. Figures that detail the results of each poll are found within each section. In addition, following the statistics is a description of how each issue was highlighted in the 1996 presidential campaign. This analysis will examine the claim that the gender gap in the electorate in the 1996 presidential campaign was due to a difference in public opinion between men and women by examining public opinion polls in the following areas: abortion, affirmative action, political ideologies, health care, welfare and the economy. These issues were selected for examination because they often align with topics of contention between Democratic candidate Bill Clinton and Republican candidate Bob Dole in the 1996 presidential campaign. By investigating public opinion divided by gender on these issues, an examination of the claim that the gender gap in the electorate was linked to gender gaps in public opinion can emerge.

Abortion

Since *Roe v. Wade* legalized abortion in 1972, the issue of abortion rights has been strongly identified with the women's movement (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, 16). Because many feminist leaders vocally support abortion rights, a common perception among the press has been that abortion can be linked to support among women voters in general (Winerip, August 15, 1997, par. 15; *USA Today* May 13, 1997, par. 10). In a September 8, 1996, episode of *Inside Politics*, CNN correspondent Candy Crowley used abortion to justify an early gender gap in presidential support by explaining that "Dole's gender gap is partly due to the abortion issue" (par.2). In addition, political candidates and strategists also paid homage to the value of abortion as a way to bridge the gender gap in the electorate. When questioned about the gender gap, Dole claimed that he didn't know why women tended to support him less than men because, in his words, "with the exception of abortion, I've got a good record" (*USA Today*, May 13, 1997, par. 10). Ann Lewis, a deputy campaign manager for the Clinton campaign, claimed that Dole's comment was similar to "that old bad joke about 'Other than that, Mrs. Lincoln, how did you enjoy the play?'" (*USA Today*, May 13, 1997, par. 11). This exchange illustrates how abortion has been used to justify the gender gap in the electorate.

Studies of public opinion about abortion rights have historically shown a very slight difference between the way in which men and women support abortion rights. According to Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton, "in general, men and women have had a similar level of support for abortion rights since 1972" (1996, p. 16). The National Election Studies over the course of the last 15 years show that, for the issue of abortion, men and women often share similar opinions. Ironically, in instances where men and women differ on the issue of abortion,

men were actually slightly more likely than women to support a woman's right to abortion according to data collected by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago between 1972 and 1994 (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1996, p.16).

In 1996, this pattern of minimal difference in public opinion about abortion rights continued. A Roper Center Report published in August of 1996 found that "as has been true since *Roe*, men and women hold similar views on abortion" (p.13). According to results from a survey done by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* in May 10-14, 1996, men and women felt similarly on the following question: "Which of the following best represents your views on abortion?" In this survey, respondents were given the choice of three opinions:

- 1) The choice on abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor
- 2) Abortion should be legal only in cases where pregnancy results from rape or incest
- 3) Abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.

Table 3-1: "Gender Gaps in Abortion"

	Men	Women
Choice left to women and doctor	53%	57%
Legal only in cases where pregnancy results from rape, incest or when the life of the woman is at risk	37%	33%
Should be illegal regardless of circumstances	7%	7%

Source: NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, May 10-14, 1996. Taken from Roper Center.

The above data illustrate that statistically significant differences in public opinion about abortion rights simply didn't exist. Exactly the same percentage of men and women felt that

abortion should be illegal in all circumstances, each at 7% of the total men and women that responded to the survey. A gap of only 4% in public opinion about the conditions that should be put on the right to an abortion is hardly strong enough to account for the gender gap in the electorate. As the result of polls such as this, several scholars have concluded that the candidates' different views on abortion played little role in expanding the gender gap between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole in 1996. Gerald Pomper explains that "abortion sharply differentiated the presidential candidates, but this issue, while obviously of particular relevance to women, divides the public on ideological, not sexual lines" (1997, p. 185). Thus, the gender gap in the presidential electorate cannot be dismissed as the simple result of an differences in public opinion on abortion.

Affirmative Action

Along with abortion, women's issues have also traditionally included a concern for the role of public policy in advancing the position and the rights of women in society (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, 16). Although the evidence is at times contradictory and inconclusive, the pattern of public opinion on issues such as the ERA and affirmative action has historically not differed significantly by gender (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, 16). According to polls taken in 1996 about affirmative action, it appears that the trend of small sexual difference on these issues continued. On March 16-19, 1996, ABC News/*Washington Post* asked the following question to American men and women: Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against women in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given to women today? The answers to that poll were as follows:

Table 3-2: "Gender Gaps in Affirmative Action"

	Men	Women
Yes	44%	46%
No	49%	45%

Source: CBS News/*New York Times*, October 22-24, 1996

These data about public opinion on affirmative action indicate that there was only a slight difference in the way that women perceived the need for affirmative action in 1996. Two percent more women than men believe that preference in hiring should be given to women where there has been discrimination in the past and 2% more men believe that preference should not be given. The two major presidential candidates of 1996 had two very different stances toward this issue. While the Clinton administration voiced its support for affirmative action where it did not break down into rigid quotas (Sabato 1997, p.158), Dole continually emphasized that, in his view, affirmative action was a form of discrimination and a guarantee of equal results that was "not how America became the greatest country on the face of the earth" (Dole transcript, 1996, part 10). Because of their very clear difference on this issue, many have suggested that their positions on affirmative action inspired the gender gap in the presidential electorate in 1996. The above data counter this claim, however.

From the analysis of the public opinion on affirmative action and abortion, those who interpret the electoral patterns concluded that "women's issues" no longer serve as acceptable explanations for gender gaps in electoral politics. Robin Toner of *The New York Times* explains that "appealing to the women's vote is considered a far more subtle art than it was 15 years ago, when a narrowly focused set of 'woman's issues,' like abortion, was often considered enough"

(1996, p.2). Although Toner makes it clear that the gender gap is not simply about a "narrowly focused set of 'women's issues,'" it is apparent in her statement that, at one time, the inherent explanation for the gender gap was intensely related to "women's issues" even though women and men were never historically divided on public opinion about these kinds of issues. Modern reports that explore the gender gap often go beyond simply presenting information about "women's issues." Thus, they often explore the sex as a political variable on other public issues.

Political Issues of 1996

Although the above information indicates that there was little measurable gender difference between the way in which women and men felt on the issues traditionally classified as "women's issues," there did appear to be statistically significant gender gaps in the way in which women and men feel about other issues in the 1996 presidential election. According to Bill Lambrecht of the *St. Louis Patch Dispatch*, "in this election, education, health care and family economics are the "women's issues" that matter" (October 4, 1996, p. 1A). The statistics presented below are not the only political issues that could be examined in terms of preference by men and women. For purposes of this research, however, these issues present a sample of issues that were discussed as public issues that may have affected the gender gap in the presidential race in 1996. Sex differences in public opinion about political ideologies, the role of government, health care, welfare and the state of the economy are outlined below.

Political Ideology and the Role of Government

Political ideologies examines a person's general orientation toward the role of government in domestic and international affairs (Seltzer, Newman and Voorhes Leighton 1997, p. 12). In their research on political ideologies, Seltzer, Newman and Voorhes Leighton used information from the National Election Studies to explain that "women were more likely than men to be liberal in their general political orientation and to favor a stronger role for government and less likely than men to favor an interventionist foreign policy" (1997, p. 12). In a study of voting patterns from the early 1950s to 1994, these researchers also found that on average women are more moderate than men, men are more conservative than women and women and men are equally as liberal (Seltzer, Newman and Voorhes Leighton 1997, p. 12). They used this research to suggest that women are generally more liberal than men in their political ideology.

A limitation of Seltzer, Newman and Voorhes Leighton's research is that it does not include data from 1996. The following public opinion data will address this concern. The preceding information will review party identification, political ideologies and the role of government from the last election to uncover where significant gender gaps existed during the 1996 election season. After each section, the information will be summarized in context of the election of 1996.

Party Identification

Party identification has experienced widening gender gaps from the beginning of women's participation in politics. Figure 3-1, in the figure section following this research, was compiled by *The New York Times*. It illustrates that gender gaps in political party affiliation have been a feature

of American politics. Although more women than men identified themselves as Republicans in the late 1970s, women began to identify themselves as Republicans consistently less frequently than men ever since the early 1980s. Figure 3-1 illustrates an incremental trend of women decreasingly identifying themselves as Republicans. In the 1996 N.E.S. study, this trend continued. The Roper Center relies on the N.E.S. information about party identification from January to June, 1996. The results of this inquiry are listed below:

Table 3-3: "Gender Gaps on Party Identification"

	Men	Women
Republican	34%	28%
Democrat	28%	39%
Independent	36%	30%

Source: National Election Study, January to June, 1996.

Information in Table 3-3 indicates some statistically significant gender gaps in party identification. There is a sizable gender gap in political party affiliation: 12% more men than women considered themselves members of the Republican party and 11% more women than men considered themselves members of the Democratic party. The gender gap between the number of people who consider themselves Independent is smaller, yet still significant, with a gender gap of 6% more men. It is important to note that these data were collected from January to June 1996 — in a time where political party affiliation has much to do with candidates who have been chosen to represent both parties. By this time in the 1996 campaign, Bob Dole had been chosen as the candidate who would serve as the Republican presidential candidate and Bill Clinton had been chosen as the Democratic presidential candidate.

Neutralizing the claim that differences in political affiliation strongly accounted for the gender gap in the electorate in the presidential campaign of 1996 is evidence that suggests that the gender gap in political affiliation has been widening for quite some time as Figure 3-1 illustrates. Despite this widening gender gap in political affiliation, there has seldom been a gender gap in a race as large as it was in the 1996. Caesar and Busch explain that this kind of gender gap might have had an effect on the slight gender gaps in the congressional elections in 1996, where the gap was “‘purer’ than the presidential gap because the two sexes were almost a mirror image of the other in their support for the two parties” (1997, p. 159). In the presidential election, however, the gender gap in party affiliation does not seem to translate into the gender gap in the exit polling data for support of the two major candidates (Busch and Caesar 1997, p. 159).

Liberal v. Conservative

The trend of self-described political ideology observed by Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton (1997) that more women than men identified themselves as moderate and more men than women identified themselves as conservative was challenged in 1996. Contrary to their findings, however, in 1996 women did tend to identify themselves as “liberal” in greater percentages than men -- but in a statistically insignificant gap, according to the definition of a statistically significant difference given by this study. The N.E.S. found the following information from January to June 1996:

Table 3-4: "Gender Gaps in Political Ideologies"

	Men	Women
Conservative	43%	36%
Moderate	39%	42%
Liberal	15%	18%

Source: National Election Studies, January to June, 1996. Taken from the Roper Center.

These data indicate that while a gender gap of six percent existed between men and women who considered themselves conservative, only a three percent gender gap existed between men and women who consider themselves moderate and liberal. Thus, the earlier information about party identification gender gaps does not neatly correspond to gender gaps in political ideologies of liberal or conservative views. This challenges the assumption that more liberal voters are Democrats and more conservative voters are Republicans. In addition, it challenges the assumption that conservative individuals, more likely to be men, voted for Dole and liberal individuals, more likely to be women, for Clinton. Thus, it is also apparent that inconsistent political ideologies cannot solely justify a gender gap in the presidential electorate in 1996.

Size of Government

One of the traditional explanations for the difference between the way that men and women vote has been a difference in public opinion about the size of government. N.E.S. data have long illustrated that more women than men support government activism (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, 12; Roper Center 1996, 11). A CBS News/*New York Times* poll taken in February of 1996 illustrates that this trend continued in 1996. The results of the

following question are summarized below: If you had to chose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services or a bigger government providing more services?

Table 3-5: "Gender Gaps in Role of Government"

	Male	Female
Smaller Government	67%	55%
Bigger Government	26%	35%

Source: CBS News/*New York Times*, February 22-24, 1996.

These representations of public opinion about the general role of government illustrate statistically significant gender gaps. There is a gender gap of 12% more women than men who believed that the United States should have a smaller government and a gender gap of 9% more men than women who believed that the United States should have a bigger government. These sizable gender gaps are difficult to directly relate to candidate stances in 1996 because both likely candidates for the presidency, Clinton and Dole, had taken steps to downsize government in their terms as public officials (Sabato 1997, p. 272). These facts problematize inferences linking the gender gap in the electorate to gender differences in public opinion between the size of government and political ideologies.

Health Care

Although health care was not as important an issue in 1996 as it was in 1992, it still surfaced as a topic of debate in the 1996 presidential campaign. In the past, women have been more supportive of nationalized health care according to research by Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton (1997, p. 13). In a study of the average gender gaps in public opinion since

1972, it was found that, on average, 12.2% more women than men believe that “the government should be doing more to solve the country’s problems (and should be) providing more services in areas such as health” (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p. 13). Thus, women have traditionally been much more supportive of nationalized health care than have men.

This trend continued in the 1996 election. It is significant to note, however, that neither candidate highlighted health care as a major issue in their 1996 platform (Sabato 1997, p. 273) when comparing the gender gap in public opinion to the gender gap in the electorate in the race between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. CBS News and *The New York Times* asked the following question in February 22-24, 1996: Do you think the government in Washington should guarantee medical care for all people who don’t have health insurance, or isn’t that the responsibility of the government in Washington?

Table 3-6: “Gender Gaps in Health Care”

	Male	Female
Should guarantee	58%	69%
Isn’t govt. responsibility	35%	24%

Source: CBS News and *The New York Times*, February 22-24, 1996.

Table 3-6 illustrates that 11% more women than men believe that the federal government should guarantee health care and 11% more men than women believe that health care is not the responsibility of the federal government. Health care is one of the largest issues of political difference that has been examined thus far in this analysis. More credence could be given to the idea that this issue may have significantly affected the way that men and women voted in the 1996 presidential election if the candidates had spent more time emphasizing this issue. However, in

1996, no major proposals for overhauling the health care system in the United States was offered by either candidate as an integral part of their platform. Thus, although health care differences may point to an issue that contributed to the gender gap in the presidential electorate in 1996, it is certainly not enough to fully account for the vote difference.

Welfare

As was the case with health care, public opinion polls have revealed that women have been more likely than men to support spending more on welfare (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p. 13). The historical statistics about the ways in which women and men have supported welfare spending are statistically much more difficult to determine, however, because they have fluctuated greatly throughout the political climate of the recent decades. Nevertheless, women have traditionally been about 9% more supportive of welfare spending compared to men according the data from the National Opinion Center (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p. 13). To test the hypothesis that women support welfare spending in greater percentages than men on the 1996 electorate, the Associated Press asked the following question: "Do you think the government should cut off a single mother's welfare benefits after two years if she refuses to take a job, or do you think the welfare benefits should continue as long as she has children to support?" The results are summarized in the table below.

Table 3-7: "Gender Gaps in Welfare"

	Male	Female
Cut off benefits	67%	65%
Benefits should continue	20%	20%
Depends on circumstance	10%	13%

Source: Associated Press, June 5-9, 1996

Table 3-7 illustrates a departure from past trends of women advocating more spending on welfare. In this 1996 public opinion poll, the Associated Press found that there was no statistically significant difference between the way that men and women feel about welfare reform proposals. Although past public opinion polls seemed to demonstrate that women believe in a greater role for government in welfare than do men, the 1996 data do not support this notion. Thus, assumptions that "Dole's anti-government, lower taxes message was one that was more likely to attract men than women" (Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton 1997, p. 130) needs to be more critically examined with specific information from public opinion data from the 1996 presidential election.

The Economy

In 1996, as in 1992, the economy was targeted as a key campaign issue (Bode 1997, p. 265). According to Seltzer, Newman, and Voorhees Leighton's research from 1994, "men were more positive than women about the performance of the economy over the previous year and whether their family was better off financially than a year ago" (1997, p. 20). A study done by Lake Research and Tarrance Group for *U.S. News and World Report* in July of 1996 refutes this

1994 finding, however. According to Lake Research and Tarrance Group's study, women and men viewed the performance of the economy in much the same way. Although women were more likely to be worried more about "being able to make ends meet" (gap of 7%) and "finding affordable child care" (gap of 4%), they reported being slightly less concerned about "having a secure retirement" (gap of 1%). The table below outlines this information.

Table 3-8: "Gender Gaps in Public Opinion on the Economy"

	Very Often/Often	Almost Never
Being able to make ends meet		
Men	43%	29%
Women	49%	22%
Finding affordable child care		
Men	12%	59%
Women	16%	49%
Having a secure retirement		
Men	47%	25%
Women	46%	24%

Source: Survey by Lake Research and Tarrance Group for *U.S. News and World Report*, July 25-27, 1996.

Data in Table 3-8 illustrate that although public opinion about the performance of the economy and its effects on personal well being were slightly stratified by gender, the faith that women and men have general economic performance and outlook was strikingly similar in 1996.

Based on the information offered in this section about public opinion differences between men and women, it is evident that explaining the gender gap in the electorate as simply "the public expression of the values held by women" (Abzug 1982, p. 116) is insufficient to accurately explain the gender gap in the electorate. Similarly, tracing the gender gap to a narrow set of

“women’s issues” is inadequate. Although there are many instances where there is a gap between the way in which men and women responded to questions, such as health care, political affiliation and some aspects of economic performance, this analysis has put each of the areas analyzed into the context of the 1996 campaign and explained how these differences were hardly insurmountable obstacles to either of the two major presidential candidates of 1996.

This analysis has challenged the belief that the gender gap in the electorate in the presidential race in 1996 could be explained entirely by public opinion differences between the sexes. As Ceaser and Busch explain, “if the inherent value structure of women is a necessary precondition for the gender gap, it is certainly not a sufficient explanation, for otherwise all men and women would vote for the opposite candidates” (1997, p. 160). Thus, it does not appear that the cards inevitably were stacked against either candidate. These findings encourage further exploration of the gender gap in the 1996 presidential electorate.

Political Communication and the Role of Gender

As soon as the gender gap was identified, the White House response was to interpret it as a problem that could be managed by clever public relations gimmicks. In the post-1980 election, Reagan aide Ronald H. Hinckley called for “new, bold, and creative ideas” to deal with women’s different perceptions of, as he put it, “what is really happening.” His solution? Communications.

-Bella Abzug

*The Gender Gap: A Guide to Political
Power for American Women*

Almost 20 years ago, theorist Robin Lakoff pioneered the study of gender and its political relation to language with the following thesis: women’s language is different from that of men and this difference keeps women in a position of political subservience (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1994, p. 444). According to Penelope Eckert, associate professor at Stanford University and Sally McConnell-Ginet, professor of linguists at Cornell University, Lakoff embraced an age-old stereotype that there is a gap in the communication of women and men but argued that it was not inherent. Rather, a different style of communication was “forced on girls and women as the price of social approval for being appropriately ‘feminine’” (Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, 1994, p. 444). Because women were encouraged to speak politely, tentatively, indirectly, imprecisely, noncommittally, deferential, and less colloquially (Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet 1994, p.444), assuming a position of power that demanded a different style of speaking was strictly off-limits for women who wanted to conform to societal expectations.

For the last two decades, academic research has expanded on Lakoff’s observation that there is a difference in the way that women and men communicate based on their different experiences. Professor Julia Wood furthered theories of gender communication by explaining that

women and men have been socialized into gendered identities in which “communication produces, reflects, and reproduces gender cultures” (1997, p. 172). Scholars of social science have also uncovered divergent patterns of word choice, syntax or language comprehension between women and men (Thorne, Kramare and Henley, 1983, p. 12; Graddol and Swann, 1989, p. 3; Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, 1994, p.444; Roman, Coates and Juhasz, 1994, p.4). This research has revealed a difference in the way that men and women communicate and theorists have speculated that this difference has to do with a power differential between men and women in society.

There has been a proliferation of research on gendered language in both popular and scholarly environments. David Graddol and Joan Swann, authors of *Gender Voices*, explain that this rapid expansion has been inspired by the belief that studying gender communication may be linked to political action leading to political equity (1989, p. 3). They articulate that the scholarly and popular appeal of the study of gender communication “holds out the promise not only of advancing linguistic and social theory, but also of providing a social critique and a programme of political action aimed at reducing sexual inequality” (Graddol and Swann, 1989, p. 3). Thus, the study of gender communication holds changing the political environment of our nation as a foremost goal.

The study of gender communication has been plagued with problems, however. Graddol and Swann explain that the popular appeal of this study has “made the development of a common theoretical perspective extremely difficult” (1989, p. 3). In addition, testing theories of gender communication, such as the one promoted by Wood, has proven to be problematic. Previous research linking the gender gap in communication with the gender gap in electoral politics has often focused on theory and lacked empirical research. In their article “Language, Gender and

Society: Opening a Second Decade of Research,” Thorne, Kramarae and Henley explain that “a review of the literature (of empirical research) shows that very few expected sex differences have been firmly substantiated by empirical studies of isolated variables” (1983, p. 13). In *The Women and Language Debate: A Source Book*, Camille Roman, Suzanne Juhasz and Christine Miller also illustrate that previous research into gender gaps in communication have failed to link theory with actual research. They explain that

By and large, exchange among the scholars in these broadly defined fields of research on the women and language debate is rare. When philosophers talk about gender and language, they do so without recourse to information available in empirical studies. Similarly, empirical research in the sciences and social sciences rarely takes into account the symbolic and psychological thinking in either Freudian-related or object-relations theory. (Roman, Coates and Juhasz 1994, p. 4)

This lack of research is a fundamental problem with research on gender and communication in social science. The following analysis was inspired by a desire to locate and summarize the results of empirical evidence about gendered political communication.

Gender Differences in Interpersonal Communication and Political Communication

Studies of gender and communication have articulated that not all women speak in the feminine voice and not all men speak in the masculine voice. Traditionally, however, women have been encouraged to speak in the feminine voice for reasons articulated in the above research of Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1994). In addition, scholars of intercultural communication theorists argue that women and men are socialized into two different cultures that understand communication in different ways (Wood 1997, p. 172). According to Wood, “most problems in

cross-cultural gender communication result from faulty translations. This happens when men interpret women according to the rules of masculine culture and when women interpret men according to rules of feminine culture" (1997, p. 172). These faulty transactions must be further explored because they can be a seriously debilitating feature of a democracy that depends on dialogue to carry out its business.

Although Carol Gilligan is one of the most famous social scientist to explore the notion of men and women speaking in different voices (1982), this study will be less concentrated on the different language that men and women use and more concentrated on the faulty transactions in metaphor association in political communication. Theories of intercultural communication have suggested that there are different gendered cultures that understand communication in different ways. This is an important area to explore when considering the claim, introduced in the introduction to this research, that metaphors can be used to as a fundamental form of conception. Wood explains that language always shapes our realities and

as women and men, we've been socialized into gendered identities, ones that reflect cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity. Because we are socialized into distinct communication cultures, women and men tend to communicate and understand communication for different reasons and in different ways. (1997, p.173)

Because this different socialization often results in different ways of conceiving political realities, males and females living in the same culture can understand their world differently and thus, may use metaphors in different ways.

Different cultures yield many differences in communication styles, according to Wood. She has found that the purpose of feminine language is to "build and sustain rapport with others"

(Wood 1997, p.169) while the purpose of masculine language is to assert opinions. Feminine language is used to support and as an attempt to express understanding of feelings while masculine language seeks to solve problems (Wood 1997, p.169). Table 4-1 further outlines these encultured gender differences in communication. The information presented in this table clearly outlines that women and men communicate for different purposes and create different perceptions of realities.

A link seldom made in discussions about political communication is the different ways in which these rhetorical devices are perceived and understood by the different sexes. According to Theodore Sheckels in "The Rhetorical Use of Double-Voiced Discourse and Feminine Style: The U.S. Senate Debate over the Impact of Tailhook '91 on Admiral Frank B. Kelso II's Retirement Rank" in the *Southern Communication Journal*,

Those in political communication who cite these gender associations need to be tentative for the following reason: much of the research underlying these associations focused on interpersonal communication. Can one safely generalize and posit a feminine style of political communication based on the ways women conduct much more intimate conversations? (1997, p. 59)

In order to address this concern, Sheckels refers to a 1995 study conducted by communication scholars J. Blankenship and D.C. Robson published as "A "feminine style" in women's political discourse: An exploratory essay" in *Communication Quarterly*. This study was based on their empirical research on women in politics and the language that they use in public discourse (Sheckels 1997, p. 56). Their objective was to investigate whether or not the observations about interpersonal communication could be linked to political communication.

In their study about women and the language they use in political communication,

Blankenship and Robson outline what they call a “feminine style” of constructing political realities through discourse. Sheckels explains that “not surprisingly, some of their findings do indeed validate the earlier associations (of gender communication research)” (1997, p. 58). In fact, these researchers found striking similarities between their work and that of Jamieson (1988), Campbell (1989) and Dow and Tonn (1993), scholars who first theorized about a feminine style of communication in politics. Blankenship and Robson outline five defining characteristics of this style:

1. Basing political judgments on concrete, lived experience; 2. Valuing inclusivity and the relational nature of being; 3. Conceptualizing the power of public office as a capacity to ‘get things done’ and to empower others; 4. Approaching policy formation holistically and 5. Moving women’s issues to the forefront of the public arena (1995, p. 395).

From this description of a feminine style of political communication, Blankenship and Robson note that women they observed used metaphors and narratives to further these defining characteristics (p. 397). If the metaphor is understood to be a fundamental form of conception that shapes reality through its use, the metaphors used in the feminine style of political discourse depicts a different conception of reality than communication in the traditional style of political discourse.

Theories of Metaphor

Scholars of public discourse have long been interested in the rhetorical devices used by political communicators. Paul Corcoran, author of *Political Language and Rhetoric*, believes that “there are specifically ‘political’ functions of language in oral culture” (1979, p. 16). The

style and language use of political communicators have been critically examined by the scholarly community to ensure that messages of our decision-makers can be understood by a democratic public. The study of political communication is an enormous field that examines many different specific functions of language and their political implications. Because the focus of this study is on the use of metaphors in political communication, however, theories of metaphor in political communication demand exploration.

Metaphors have been a staple of political communication. They serve many functions in language, thought and action. Martha Cooper explains that “metaphors use terms that are apparently unrelated to a subject in order to make some characteristics of the subject vivid. In doing so, metaphors invite the audience to associate the characteristic of one subject with another” (1989, p. 111). When political communicators are given the task of communicating complex ideas to a diverse, democratic public, they have used the metaphor to encourage the association Cooper describes. Corcoran believes that political communicators rely on metaphors because “complex issues (or even very simple ones) are often reduced to acronym, impersonal forces and silly slogans, so that the public’s only path is to look for helpful images” (1979, p. 176). In these ways, the metaphor is an important aspect of political communication.

When initially recognized in political discourse, the use of metaphor worried political philosophers. Plato warned against the use of metaphors in his *Republic* because he feared that they would obscure “truth” in his perfect community. He feared representation and the way that this representation may replace reality (Kittay, 1983, p. 2). As illustrated in the introduction, however, Aristotle did not share Plato’s contempt for the use of metaphoric language. He argued that “the greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor. It is the one thing that cannot be

learnt from others; and it is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars” (Aristotle, 1968, p. 59). In *Poetics*, he explained that metaphors used in prose have the ability to function as figures of speech that can personalize a text and make discourse vivid (Aristotle, 1968, p. 59). Further, Cicero believed that metaphors were first used in democracy to explain complex political terms to those that were not in the elite, ruling class. In *De Oratorie*, he said that “as clothes were first used to protect us against cold, and afterwards began to be used for the sake of adornment and dignity, so the metaphorical employment of words began because of poverty” (Kittay 1982, p.2). Thus emerged the first early critical analysis of metaphor in political communication.

In order to understand how metaphors rhetorically function in a political text, the two theories of metaphors briefly introduced in the beginning of this thesis must be further explored considering the gendered use of political communication. Additionally, the metaphors of sports and the military that will be examined in the text of the second presidential debate need to be carefully defined and operationalized so they can be readily identified in the communicative text. Thomas Carney, professor of history at the University of Manitoba explains that “a good operational definition satisfies two requirements: it is a valid representation of the analyst’s concepts, and it is sufficiently precise that guides coding to produce reliable judgements” (1972, p. 95). This section on theories of metaphor aims to accomplish these dual goals.

Metaphor as a Trope

If understood as an ornamental figure of speech, metaphors as tropes serve many functions in political discourse. Initially, metaphors personalize that which is impersonal. They

familiarize that which is foreign to our experience by using images familiar to us. Dan Hahn explains that “much of the rhetorical strength of basic metaphors is that they come from phenomena all audiences know about” (1998, p. 113). Cooper also explains that metaphors make some characteristics of the subject vivid and “invite the audience to associate the characteristic of one subject with another” (1989, p. 111). Metaphor is unique in its ability to personalize information. Lakoff and Johnson explain that often the metaphor “may be the only way to highlight and coherently organize” (1980, p. 156). Metaphors make descriptions colorful and relate them to aspects of our own reality.

Yet as tropes, metaphors go a step further than simply personalizing political information. They also demand an association that clarifies meaning. As Cicero reminds us, metaphors originally began out of necessity. Corcoran believes that political communicators rely on metaphors because “complex issues (or even very simple ones) are reduced to acronym, impersonal forces and silly slogans, so that the public’s only path is to look for helpful images” (1979, p. 176). Lakoff and Johnson also argue that, at its core, the “essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of think in terms of another” (1980, p. 5). Because of this, the listener must ultimately be able to ascertain their meaning.

Much of the criticism directed at the metaphor in political communication has arisen out of a fear of confusion in understanding the metaphor. In addition to the criticism explored by Locke in the introduction of this research about the deceptive nature of the metaphor, he also chides it for its exclusionary nature that fail to clearly communicate to the entire public (Gill 1994, p. 67). For this reason, Locke claims that “however laudable or allowable oratory may render them in harangues and popular addresses, they are certainly, in all discourses that pretend to inform or

instruct, wholly to be avoided" (1937, p. 34). Recalling that Hobbes and Plato also feared that metaphors would be used to deceive those who could not make rhetorical associations, political philosophy has treated metaphors in public discourse with disdain.

Although Gill argues that later communication theorists like Richards rejected the idea that metaphoric associations cannot be made by all people (1997, p. 68), recent communication research has also reflected the concern of Plato, Locke and Hobbes about the use of metaphor as a trope. According to professor Dan Hahn, "all metaphors (but especially the basic ones) carry with them a good deal of extra 'baggage,' so they are not as simple and direct as they seem at first blush" (1998, p. 114). This "extra baggage" can be used to hide aspects of reality that the rhetorician does not want to expose, or wants to expose only to a specific group. Hahn gives the following example to illustrate this observation:

For most audience members, "he's a bear of a man" means merely that the referent is a big person. To others, who have had nasty experiences with bears, it may mean the man is dangerous or dangerously powerful. Others may call to mind bear cubs, and conclude that the speaker is saying the man is playful, cuddly, and clumsy. Some may conclude that the speaker is classifying the man as something of a brute, less than human. (Hahn 1998, p. 114)

As classical theorists warn, metaphors can mystify as well as clarify. They can represent a different meaning to a diverse audience -- especially an audience that has been socialized in a different culture as the earlier analysis indicated happens in gendered communication (Wood, 1997).

Because of different gendered socialization, some have an easier time making the necessary associations demanded by the metaphor than others. Lakoff and Johnson note that "when people who are talking don't share the same culture, knowledge, values and assumptions,

metaphoric understanding can be especially difficult" (1980, p. 231). In the previous section, communication differences were identified based on this different socialization along gender lines. A study about the use of political communication done by Jane Margolis (1992) supported the idea that 'gov talk' masked in sports and war metaphors alienates women, according to Susan Hansen, associate professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh (1997, p. 75). In her study of Harvard undergraduates, Margolis found that the use of language that included metaphors of war with "depersonalized abstractions and rationalism made many women students uncomfortable, less likely to speak up in class, and unwilling to challenge others' views in public" (Hansen, 1997, p. 75). Thus, this trope resulted in the kind of "great fault" in public discourse that Locke identified.

The findings of Margolis were also duplicated in other gender communication studies about the use of metaphors of sports and military in public discourse. Research studies about the use of metaphors in political communication done by theorists Harragan, Heenig and Jardim and Wheelless and Berryman-Fink also supported the idea that conversations need to "pay attention to the metaphorical concepts that often encourage violence and promote divisions" (Henley and Kramarae 1994, p.395) as metaphors of sport and the military often do. Because all metaphors must "trigger a pattern of thinking in which comparisons are chained out" (Cooper 1989, p.111) in order to be meaningful, social science researchers of corporate management positions have found that many comprehension problems can result from faulty linguistic systems that occur when women simply do not understand metaphors. In this way, metaphors of sports and military in political discourse may result in a trope that is a faulty transaction (Dahl 1963, p. 164).

Metaphor as a Form of Conception that Structures Political Realities

Many scholars of the last century have argued that theories of metaphor must go beyond simply explaining the metaphor as a trope. Instead, they argue that the metaphor is a way in which we structure our reality because, as Ernest Cassier says, "language is, by its very nature and essence, metaphorical" (1944, p. 112). Although the utility of the metaphor has been debated in our rhetorical history, modern theorists of communication (Black, 1964; Hahn, 1998; Cooper, 1989; Corcoran, 1979; Kittay, 1982) have shared George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's observation that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life ... our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both act and think, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980, p. 3). Ultimately, metaphors are intimately related to our system of communication. They both reflect and shape how we structure our realities. As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson argue, metaphors "have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, p. 156). Ultimately then, metaphors shape and structure the pictures of society that we all carry around inside our heads.

In contrast to those theorists that argue that metaphors demand specialized knowledge, many theorists such as Max Black and I. A. Richards argue that almost all listeners have the ability to ascertain the meaning of most metaphors. As Max Black says, the most powerful metaphors must have "irreducible meaning and distinctive cognitive content" (1964, p. 6). Following the tradition of Richards (1981), he argues that metaphors "operate with largely commonplace implications. You need only proverbial knowledge, as it were, to have your metaphor understood" (Black, 1964, p. 239). In proper communicative situations, this is achieved. For much of the history of the United States, using metaphors of sports and military

was appropriate to communicate to a public in which knowledge of sports and military was part of their “proverbial knowledge.” Even after considering the research from Harragan, Heenig and Jardim (1994), Wheelless and Berryman-Fink (1994) and Margolis (1992) about women and their reaction to metaphors of sports and military, it may also be argued that sports and the military are two areas in which even women have enough “proverbial knowledge” to understand the associations demanded by these metaphors. Nevertheless, however, an analyst must always be mindful of the power of a metaphor to structure what is taken to be the reality of a situation. Although those that use the feminine style of political discourse might understand the associations of the metaphor, they may not agree with the political realities that these metaphors construct.

Recognizing the ability of the metaphor as a fundamental form of conception has lead may feminists to interrogate how sports and military metaphors contradict the picture of politics reflected in the feminine style of political discourse. Because “we all draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans, all on the basis of how we in part structure our experience, consciously and unconsciously, by means of metaphor” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 158), it is important to understand that metaphors of sports and military structure reality in a way that women that seek political communication in the feminine voice as defined by J. Blankenship and D.C. Robson would likely reject. Knowing that metaphors that largely “encourage viewing conflict in terms of a zero sum game, war and violence” (Henley and Kramare, 1994, p. 394) are alienating to women, one might assume that the reason for this alienation is because it presents a picture of politics foreign to their understanding of political life. If women are seeking a kind of politics that “base political judgments on concrete, lived experience and values inclusivity and the relational nature of being” (Blankenship and Robson, 1995, p. 395) in their political discourse,

metaphors of sports and military may result in cognitive dissonance.

Because the use of metaphors can function as both a trope, that personalizes and clarifies, and a fundamental form of conception that clearly advocates a picture of reality properly situated, uncovering their use in political texts is of fundamental importance to democratic rule. Metaphors are often employed in communicating to a democratic public that depends on information to make informed decisions about the leaders that they chose to represent them. This use of metaphors in politics does have costs, however. These are important to uncover in political life. Lakoff and Johnson argue that “like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality. But in the area of politics and economics, metaphors matter more, because they can constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation” (1980, p. 236). They can also lead to a loss of understanding and cognitive dissonance. In light of this, the study of metaphors in political communication is an especially important one.

This does not mean, however, that metaphors cannot be used effectively in political communication, as in other forms of communication. Although Black grants that they can be especially dangerous in politics, he says that “a prohibition against their use would be a willful and harmful restriction upon our powers of inquiry” (1963, p. 47). In addition, as Burke points out, metaphors are an invaluable tool for ascertaining the psychological attributes of those that use them. The metaphors that one chooses to use ultimately reveals something about the rhetor. In “Essay on Life, Literature and Method,” he explains that “every writer has some ... favorite images ... that are analogous to a psychological tie” (1966, p. 19). Burke suggests that there is more at work in metaphoric associations than a desire to communicate clarity. Metaphors also

reveal something about the speaker. It is impossible to divorce the metaphor from the person that uses it. For this reason, studying the metaphors used by communicators is an important inquiry that can reveal something about both political life and political actors.

In many ways, the preceding analysis is a post-structuralist analysis. Thus, I advocate the idea that the “reading and interpretation (of the presidential debate discourse), then are not just *reproducing* what the writer (orator) thought and expressed in the text. Instead, a critical reading must produce the text, since there is nothing behind it for us to reconstruct” (Barry, 1995, p. 69). In this kind of deconstructive analysis, the reader can employ some of the theories of language and gender outlined above. This analysis assumes a sense of the “linguistic unconscious” (Barry, 1995, p. 129). Thus, the metaphors of sports and military used by the two candidates are seen as a “realm of floating signifiers, random connections, improvisations, approximations, accidents, and ‘slippage’ that emerge into and disrupt the ‘conscious’ or ‘surface’ meaning” (Barry 1995, p. 129). Ultimately, then, the analysis of the use of sports and military metaphors in politics reminds the reader, as post-structuralists do, that “we are not fully in control of the medium of language, so meanings cannot be planted in set places . . . they can only be randomly scattered or ‘disseminated,’” (Barry 64). The democratic citizen listening to this debate is thus seen as an active; rather than a passive participant in the democratic process who has some control over the discourse shaping their understanding of political life.

An Analysis: The Second 1996 Presidential Debate

A content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics.

--Thomas Carney, *Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications*

The second presidential debate of 1996 will be used as a text to examine use of sports and military metaphors by the two major candidates in the presidential campaign of 1996. In this 90-minute debate, held at the Shiley Theater at the University of San Diego on October 16, 1996, the audience with no strong partisan affiliations was randomly chosen to ask 15 questions to the presidential candidates. The questions focused on the following areas: what it means to be presidential, health care, equal pay for military and civilian workers, middle east policy, smoking in public places, the extension of government benefits to federal employees, changing welfare, the rate of capital gains, inspiration for younger Americans, the best way to balance the budget, affirmative action, family leave, domestic manufacturing, homosexual bias and managed health care. For the most part, the issues discussed in the debate parallel the issues examined in the section on gender and public opinion. Thus, the information from this content analysis combined with the information about gender and public opinion will enable inferences about the validity of the explanations for the gender gap in the electorate offered by this analysis.

Rhetorical Analysis of Metaphor Use

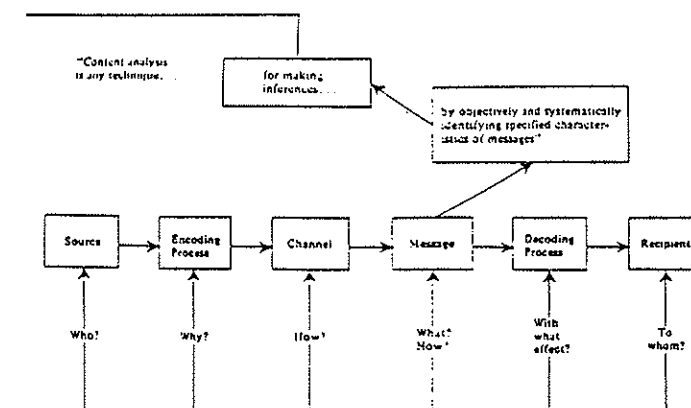
Simply stated, a content analysis is "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, pp. 488-89).

This analysis has typically been employed in the field of political science. Ole R. Holsi, professor of political science at the University of British Columbia, illustrates some of the advantages and the pitfalls of the content analysis. He explains that although the "content analysis has proved to be a valuable research tool, it has also been used to produce shelves of unimaginative studies (when) guided by a sheer fascination with counting" (1969, ix). Communication scholars have remedied this problem by offering a method known as the rhetorical analysis. Sonja Foss (1989) explains that the rhetorical analysis adds to the qualitative count of rhetorical devices a qualitative analysis of their strength and function in any given text.

In the field of rhetorical analysis, the use of metaphor as a rhetorical device has received particular attention. Ever since Max Black recognized that "there is a sense of 'metaphor' that belongs to the 'pragmatics' rather than to 'semantics'" (1964, p. 30), there has been a recognition of the power the metaphor wields in discourse -- especially political discourse. Knowing this, many scholars have explored "the question of why metaphor is used" (Morgan 1993, p. 134). Although merging the content and the rhetorical analysis of the way in which metaphors are used can be an enlightening form of research, employing it demands a careful methodology. In order to use this content analysis to provide solid research, I will systematically explain the purpose of my content analysis, the categories for analysis, the sampling procedure, and the recording process of my analysis. This will be followed by a rhetorical analysis of the metaphors of sports and military used in the debate.

The purpose of this analysis

Every content and rhetorical analysis must consider the larger communicative process. When examining a text, researchers often lose sight of this larger picture when concentrating on the message. Holsi explains that there are six components of the communication processes: the source, the encoding process, the message, a channel of transmission, a recipient of the message, and a decoding process (1969, p. 24). This process demonstrates what the actual text of the second presidential debate of 1996 has to do with the way that the electorate receives it. Figure 5-1 illustrates the communication process works and demonstrates the point at which the content analysis is situated.



Source: Figure 2-1. Holsi, Ole. (1969). *The Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. p. 29.

Figure 5-1

The content analysis is a powerful tool because it can be used to “make inferences about all other elements of the communication process” (Holsi 1969, 24). Figure 5-1 illustrates how this dynamic process works. This is significant because although in this project, this analysis will be focused on the actual text of the second presidential debate of the 1996 presidential elections, the larger purpose of the research is to make inferences about the receipt of the message and the decoding process. Because this research is focused on the gender gap in political communication,

the analysis of the debate will quantitatively examine the text of the presidential debate, or the "message," for metaphors of sports and military.

The purpose of this research will not be "guided by a sheer fascination with counting" (Holsi 1969, ix). Instead, it will also include a rhetorical analysis of the sports and military metaphors used in order to make inferences about the validity of the claims that attribute the gender gap in the electorate to a difference in the way that the two major candidates spoke. This type of analysis method is typically used, according to Holsi, "to identify differences in propaganda appeals of two or more orators, political parties, or nations" (1969, p. 31). Using this type of a structured content analysis will further this research by testing the hypothesis that language influenced the way that women, who primarily understand feminine language, and men, who primarily understand masculine language because of gendered culture, voted in the 1996 presidential election.

Categories for analysis

In the preceding section about gender and political communication, theories of metaphors in political communication were clearly outlined and defined. Holsi explains that there are two critical features of a good operational definition: the definition must be a valid representation of concepts and it must be precise in order to guide researchers to make accurate judgements (1969, p.95). In order to ensure precision in this study, the text of the second presidential debate of 1996 will be examined for sports and military metaphors that were used during the course of the debates. In order to clearly outline the definition perimeters of the operationalized terms of this analysis to ensure that they will be easily reproduced, a review of terms of analysis is in order.

For purposes of this content analysis, a *sports or war metaphor* will be defined as a phrase that demands an association with something related to a sports game or a war, battle or conflict. Because metaphors have “pragmatic” as opposed to simple “semantic” effects (Black 1962, p. 30), the sports and military metaphors can be analyzed on two levels. First, they will be examined as tropes -- figures of speech that attempt to make language colorful, personal and clear. After this, each metaphor will be examined as a form of conception that structures political realities that the candidates are discussing.

Sampling Procedure

The sampling procedure can often be daunting in a content and rhetorical analysis. Bodd, Thorp and Donohew explain that “for many content studies, the immense task of analyzing various aspects of the content in all space of all issues of all publications for the entire time period would inhibit the investigator from the outset” (1967, p. 16). In this project, the task of analyzing all of the speeches and oral communication of the candidates throughout the entire campaign would be an incredible task. In order to make this task more manageable, I chose to analyze a specific debate during the 1996 presidential campaign. Although there were two debates given almost back to back, the task of analyzing both would involve examining an enormous amount of text. Because the second debate was closer to the actual election where the gender gap in the electorate was manifest, I decided to analyze this debate.

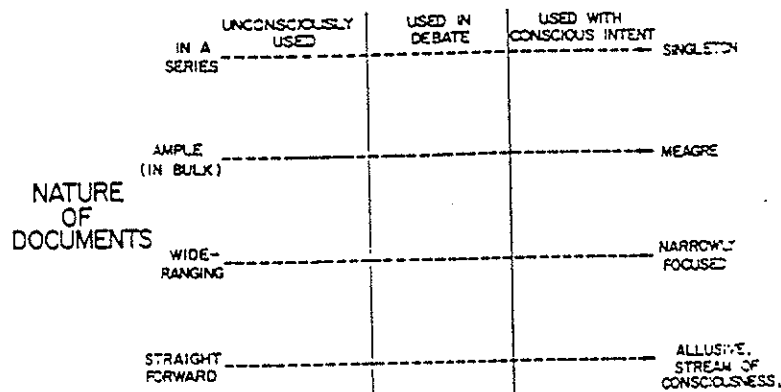
There are several other reasons why an examination of the text of a presidential debate is an apt text to analyze for its use of metaphors. Although an examination of the statistics about who was watching the debates reveals that the debate wasn’t watched by many people and are

typically fairly insignificant to the total outcome of the election (Bode 1997, p. 279), the presidential debate provides a great amount of text that illustrates how the candidates attempted to persuade the public to accept their policies and vision for the future. In addition, according to Sidney Kraus, author of *The Televised Presidential Debates and Public Policy*, historically presidential debates have been carefully examined by those in the humanities and social sciences for three main reasons. He explains that presidential debates further democratic goals by providing information to a democratic electorate in a way unmediated by the press (1988, p. 5). In addition, he says that debates “serve the majority of the electorate better than any other single campaign communication device that attempts to present both the candidates’ personality and their position on issues” (Kraus, 1988, p. 5). Finally, Kraus claims that presidential debates, and the electorate that watches them, have the potential to bring about changes in the way that political notions are formed and political information communicated (1988, p. 5). For these reasons, the second presidential debate demands careful attention.

Another goal of my selection of the second presidential debate of 1996 was to use this text as a representation of the campaign rhetoric of the two major candidates. This is a typical research method in case studies. Bodd, Thorp and Donohew explain that “in studies involving sampling, we make observations of a limited number of individuals, objects, or events so that we can make inferences about the larger number from which we have drawn the sample” (1967, p. 16). By doing a content analysis of the second presidential debate of 1996, inferences about the way in which the two candidates spoke throughout the 1996 campaign season can be made. Drawing these kinds of inferences is vital to examining the claims that a gender gap in communication throughout the campaign by the candidates resulted in a gender gap in the

electorate.

There are certain textual constraints in any text used for a content analysis (Bodd, Thorp and Donohew 1967, p. 49). These constraints must be identified. Figure 5-2 explains that there are three kinds of documents available for content analysis: language unconsciously used (as in casual interaction), language used in debate, and language used with conscious intent (as in a rehearsed speech). The below figure illustrates this information.



Source: Figure 3-5. Carney, T.R. (1972). *Content Analysis*. Winnipeg, Can.: University of Manitoba Press. p. 49.

Figure 5-2

As Figure 5-4 illustrates, the language of a debate is situated in the middle of the extremes of the analysis. Bodd, Thorp and Donohew say that "plentiful, simple text is easier to draw conclusions from than is meager, complicated text" (1967, p. 49). The transcripts of the debate provide ample text that is neither excessively wide-ranging nor narrowly focused. For these reasons, the debate is an appropriate sample text.

Although there has been much research done by social scientists and those in the humanities on previous debates, the presidential debates of 1996 have, as of yet, largely gone unexamined in the academic community. Because the analytical demands of the scholar are much

more rigorous than that of the journalist, scholarly analysis is much slower in production. This reality has presented both challenges and opportunities to this researcher. To the best of my knowledge, the preceding analysis is the first analysis of the metaphors of this debate that has been done. I have been in communication with a researcher Tammy Vitlan, a research assistant from the Kansas State University, who is in the process of producing a book analyzing these debates. Although the information from Kansas State University is largely focus group analysis of the debate, scholars at Kansas State University are also in the process of doing similar studies about rhetorical devices used in the debates. Thus, this particular sample is currently undergoing scrutiny from researchers in both communication and political science.

Metaphor Analysis: The Second Presidential Debate of 1996

The Center for the Presidential Debates hosted two presidential debates in 1996. The second debate, on October 16, 1996, was the last nationally televised meeting of the two candidates before the November election. The moderator for the event was Jim Lehrer, of the Public Broadcasting System. The only two participants of the debate were Democratic President Bill Clinton and Republican former Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, much to the disappointment of third party candidate Ross Perot (Clines, 1996, par. 1). As explained in the section introduction, the debate focused on issues that have been examined in terms of public opinion support by gender in 1996 in the preceding section. The positions that the candidates took on the fifteen topics addressed in the debates did not deviate from their earlier policy beliefs or political values (Sabato, 1997, p. 147). Bode explains that this is typical of presidential debates, which rarely reveal any new information about the candidate's policy preferences and political

priorities (Bode, 1997, p. 273). Before an audience of 113 people with no preference in the presidential race selected by the Gallup poll (Bennet, 1997, par. 5), these two men vied to win enough support to elect them to the highest office in the nation.

Although there are several aspects of language that could be examined in the text of the presidential debates, this analysis focuses on the use of sports and military metaphor. In the previous section on political communication and gender communication theory, the ways that metaphor functions in political gendered communication were carefully outlined from two perspectives: metaphor as a trope and metaphor as a fundamental form of conception. As articulated earlier, these two categories are not mutually exclusive, however. Often times, metaphors in political discourse function as both. Thus, this analysis will examine these two functions of sports and military metaphors from the theoretical perspective of gender communication (Blakenship and Robson, 1995; Margolis, 1992).

Several metaphors of sports and military surfaced in course of the second presidential debate of 1996 and demonstrated the way in which metaphors can function as both tropes and fundamental forms of conception in political communication. In this debate, Dole employed this rhetorical technique seven times while Clinton did only once in responses to the same questions. Both candidates were faced with the rhetorical challenge of relating complex political subjects to an audience comprised of citizens chosen from a random sampling by the Gallup organization (Clines, 1996, par. 3). Yet Dole employed the technique seven times while Clinton only used one metaphor of a game (see Figure 5-3). The preceding analysis will examine the way in which these eight metaphors of sports and military specifically function in this sample.

Debate Metaphors Examined as Tropes

As theories of metaphor in political communication advanced by both classical theorists like Aristotle, Cicero, Hobbes and Locke and more modern theorists explain, metaphors are often used in political communication as a figure of speech to personalize, clarify and decorate discourse. In many ways, most metaphors of sports and military used by Clinton and Dole can be seen as serving this purpose. For example, when discussing affirmative action policies in admission and employment, Dole used a sports metaphor to describe how he feels about these policies. He says that affirmative action is like a "*10-point spot*" (Dole, 1996, debate transcript, part 10). Although most Americans are unfamiliar with the complexities of affirmative action, many are familiar with the connotation of a "10-point spot" in a basketball game. Thus, Dole asks his audience to think of affirmative action policies and racial quotas as a simple basketball term. In addition, when speaking about the trade deficit, Dole suggested that the United States responds to foreign competitors by saying: "*That's enough. Time out.* Once you have a policy, then you've got to go out and be aggressive and enforce that policy" (1996, debate transcript, part 13). These two metaphors of sports relate complex political statements to an audience that is likely more familiar with the sports than with politics.

Although the sports metaphors as tropes discussed thus far have been discussed as a way to personalize impersonal political information, they also clarify meaning. They often arise out of, what Cicero, called necessity. An further example of this can be found in Dole's response to a question about welfare reform. In his response, Dole gives some of the legislative history behind the welfare reform bill. Although he spoke at a surface level about the way in which the reform bill was enacted, he ended abruptly by saying, "*But that's sort of inside baseball*" (Dole 1996,

part 7). This metaphor invites the audience to sit back and be entertained by the game of politics instead of being an active participant in the dirty details of welfare reform. In this statement, another aspect of politics is made clear to the audience: there is a realm of politics that is strictly off-limits to public understanding. Dole's metaphor hides some aspect of the political process. Thus, this metaphor functions as a trope that highlights Dole's belief that the details of welfare reform are too complex for the common American to understand and hides the politics behind the process of welfare reform.

The metaphor of "inside baseball" also reveals an aspect of metaphorical associations that concern political theorists about the use of metaphors in public discourse. The "extra baggage" of the metaphor that Hahn addresses is apparent in the "inside baseball metaphor." One audience member, for example, may interpret this as meaning that it is information that is important to those playing the game of politics, yet irrelevant to them in their position as mere voters. To another, however, "inside baseball" may be information that s/he is privileged to know. Many sports enthusiasts pride themselves on finding out the details "inside baseball." In this way, this metaphor may speak differently to those who have different feelings about what "inside baseball" means and what importance this phrase has in their lives.

Other examples metaphors that demands associations that many audience members may not be able to make are Dole's metaphors of the military. Dole invoked two military metaphors when discussing drug policy in response to the following question: "You mentioned in a statement you said some time ago that you didn't think nicotine was addictive. Would you care to -- are you still -- hold to that statement, or do you wish to recant, or explain yourself?" (Delgado, 1996, debate transcript, part 5). First, Dole claimed that Clinton did not consistently oppose the

tobacco lobby. He responded, "Don't get into this *smoke screen*. The President in the election year decided well I ought to do something. I haven't done anything on drugs" (1996, debate transcript, part 5). Dole's metaphor of a smoke screen illustrates that Clinton is misleading the American people by pretending that his policy on smoking results from a real dedication to prevent smoking instead of simply being a political tactic. Dole continues his attack with another metaphor of the military by explaining that Clinton likely said, "I've been *AWOL* for 44 months so let's take on smoking" (1996, debate transcript, part 5). This statement invokes yet another metaphor of the military. Dole is assuming that his audience widely understands that *AWOL* means "absent without leave." According to research done by feminist scholars and researchers such as Jane Margolis (1992) finding that women do not always understand this kind of 'gov talk' masked in war metaphors, this may be a faulty assumption.

Ultimately then, a conception of metaphor as a trope illustrates that the sports and military metaphors used by Dole may have obscured his message. Dole's assumption that the American public all know that "inside baseball" refers to the technical details of the game, that a "10-point spot" is an advantage that unfairly privileges one side over another and that a "time out" is a chance for both sides to stop playing and reevaluate their plan of action, may have been faulty. Thus, Dole's use of metaphor may have both misled his audience and confused his message. The one metaphor of sports or military employed by Clinton contrasts Dole's metaphors in that it does not demand the specialized knowledge or military or sports games. When discussing international commerce, Clinton describes the laws for international commerce as "rules of the game" (1996, debate transcript, part 10). Although this metaphor may function to clarify his position and personalize complex international trade information, it does not demand a high level of technical

knowledge of sports or military life to make the association.

In light of modern theories about metaphor, this analysis will now consider how the sports and military metaphors used in this text function beyond mere tropes. Because Richards claims that everyone has an eye for metaphors (1936, p. 94), the research of Harragan, Heenig and Jardim (1994), Wheelless and Berryman-Fink (1994) and Margolis (1992) needs to be qualified by introducing the idea that it is problematic to overgeneralize about the ability of women and men in general to understand the associations demanded by metaphors. To illustrate this, it is interesting to note that the only sports metaphor used by a person that posed a question to the candidates came from a woman, Colleen O'Connor, who said that she wanted to "T-off from an earlier question" (O'Connor, debate transcript, part 7). Thus, the metaphors used in the debate must also be examined as devices that shape political realities and perceptions about political candidates.

Debate Metaphors Examined as Forms of Conception

As explored in detail in the theory in the previous section, metaphors in public discourse can also shape perceptions of political realities. In the words of critical theorist Peter Barry, language in general, and metaphors specifically, do not "record reality, they shape and create it, so that the whole of reality is constructed through language" (1998, p. 35). The metaphors of sports and military used in this debate illustrate how language can, in fact, serve this function. After briefly introducing himself, Dole began the debate with these words, "*Let me give you a sports update. The Braves 1, Cardinals nothing -- early on*" (1996, debate transcript, part 1). The implications of this statement are clear: politics may be important enough to demand the attention

of citizens during the debate but the world of sports and the simultaneous World Series Game are also important to the average American. Dole's statement is metaphorical in nature. With this statement, Dole reveals much to his audience. As Kenneth Burke argues, the metaphors that one chooses to use reveals something about the rhetor. In this metaphorical statement, Bob Dole is portraying himself as a real American who cares about baseball. Like the average citizen, he follows baseball. A criticism throughout Dole's campaign was that he spent too much time in Washington, D.C., removed from the daily realities that most Americans face. This metaphor counters this perception of Dole and instead present the idea that he was not a creature of the federal government but instead was, as headlines across the country deemed him after his resignation from the Senate, merely "Citizen Dole" (Associated Press, July 18, 1996). The metaphorical reference to a baseball game made in his introduction reinforces this perception.

Other metaphors used by Dole further contributed to shaping his image as "Citizen Dole." When asked if he felt that "America has grown enough and has educated itself enough to totally cut out affirmative action?" (1996, debate transcript, part 10), the metaphor of basketball that he offered likening affirmative action to a "*10-point spot*" was explored earlier in this analysis as a trope that tried to clarify his views on the value of affirmative action. When more carefully examining the context of the metaphor, however, we can see that it also likely functioned to reinforce an image of him as a man of the people. Dole explained that he is disabled but says, "I shouldn't have a preference. I would like to have one in this race, come to think of it. But I don't get one. Maybe we can work that out. I get a 10-point spot" (1996, debate transcript, part 10). This metaphor forms a picture of reality where Dole is striving for electoral victory as an underdog athlete. This picture of electoral politics is contrary to the notion of "conceptualizing

the power of public office as a capacity to 'get things done' and to empower others" (Blankenship and Robson, 1995, p. 135) that was uncovered as the way in which women use language in politics. Thus, Dole may have presented a picture of electoral politics that was cognitively dissonant to those who communicate in the feminine style of political discourse.

Dole's use of two other sports metaphors also suggest something about him as a candidate suggesting that these metaphors were "favorite images ... that are analogous to a psychological tie" (Burke, 1966, p. 19). When answering a question about welfare reform, Dole explained that the "Vice President said they were going to do something else through the line-item veto, which I've never understood. But that's sort of *inside baseball*" (1996, debate transcript part 7). Although this analysis has already investigated the way in which this metaphor can be understood as a trope, it also both reinforces and contrasts with the image of the candidate as "Citizen Dole." By indicating that Al Gore did something with the line-item veto that he "never understood," the audience is encouraged to forget that Dole was a very powerful member of the Senate for decades. His metaphor obscures this reality. In his next sentence, however, Dole reveals that he was a Washington insider who knew about the inner workings of politics much like a old, knowledgeable baseball coach knows the details of baseball. Thus, this metaphor functions as a trope that clarifies Dole's position on the details of welfare reform -- that they are too inside for the common American to understand -- and also as a device that offers a picture of the man who used such a metaphor. Like the metaphors examined earlier, this metaphorical construction of a political candidate as an athlete whose ultimately goal is victory contrasts with the picture of politics constructed by the feminine style of political discourse.

The final metaphor of sports given by Dole also depicts reality in a way foreign to the

feminine political communication style. When discussing the trade deficit, he suggested that we tell foreign competitors: "*That's enough. Time out.*" (1996, debate transcript, part 13). In this metaphor, the audience is encouraged to think of Dole to an old sports coach that may have uttered the same phrase to them as an athlete. These two metaphors present a picture of politics that clearly is at odds with the feminine style of politics that "base political judgements on concrete, lived experience ... value inclusivity and the relational nature of being ... (and) approach policy formation holistically" (Blankenship and Robson, 1995, p. 395). This metaphor instead requires the audience to construct abstract pictures of international trade as a game in which the participants are competing with each other in a zero sum game.

The final four metaphors examined by in this analysis for their ability to shape conceptions about candidates were metaphors of the military used by Dole. His two references to *AWOL* indicate that this metaphor of the military might be other "favorite images that are linked to a psychological tie" (Burke, 1969, p. 210). Dole, a man with a military history that he noticeably contrasted with Clinton's lack of a record throughout the campaign (Bode, 1997, p. 266), drew attention to his military history by the use of these term. As Lakoff and Johnson suggest, the use of these metaphorical terms in daily discourse are often unconscious revelations of who the rhetorician is and what s/he values (1980, p. 3-7). Other examples that illustrate Dole's use of military metaphors are his statements that Clinton's economic agenda "*isn't going to blow a hole in the deficit*" (1996, debate transcript, part 12) and the "*smoke screen*" example discussed as a trope earlier in this analysis. Ultimately then, Dole's metaphors of the military present a way of conceiving him as a candidate.

Many express concern about the way in which military and sports metaphors encourage

the public to see political struggles. Much like the worry articulated earlier in this analysis found in the *Christian Science Monitor*, many have expressed concern that political life is increasingly reduced to "the moral equivalent of football" (April 23, 1997, p. A14) though the use of these metaphors. As this analysis has also illustrated, the use of these metaphors present political realities structured in a way foreign to the feminine style of political discourse as investigated by Blakenship and Robson (1995). Feminist and post-structuralist critics reject the claim that the use of these kinds of metaphors can be consciously controlled in such things as debate discourse, however, because of the "ever-present linguistic 'unconscious'" (Barry, 1995, p. 129). Thus, the study of their use in political discourse can reveal much about political discourse. Because metaphors of sports and military fail to do such things as "base political judgements on concrete, lived experience, value inclusivity and the relational nature of being, and conceptualize the power of public office as a capacity to 'get things done' and to empower others" (Blakenship and Robson, 1995, p. 395), their use may contribute to a gender gap in electoral decisions.

Other Debate Analysis

Although this researcher has presented a theory of the debates in terms of an analysis of the metaphors of the text, there are other forms of research that could illuminate the way in which the audience understood the political communication of this debate. Thus, there is value in exploring press analysis of the debates and polls taken immediately after the debate. This quantitative analysis further supplements the observations uncovered by the analysis of the metaphors in the debate. By exploring the ways in which the press discussed the second presidential debate of 1996, ways in which the language used in the debate may contribute to the

gender gap in the presidential electorate emerge.

A *New York Times*/CBS news poll taken in the days after the second debate found that Dole was publicly perceived as much more combative than Clinton and that Clinton was the victor among the public in this debate. According to an October 22, 1996 article by Burke, "63% said Clinton won, and 22% said Dole" (1996c, par. 3). This poll of 1,148 registered voters from October 17 to 20, 1996 found that half of the respondents had watched or listened to the debate. When asked whether the candidates spent more time doing during the debate, 73% said that Clinton spent more time explaining and 14% said he attacks more whereas 60% said that Dole spent more time attacking than explaining (Burke 1996c, par. 7). These results indicate that sports and war metaphors were not the only factor that may have contributed to the gender gap in the political communication of the debate. Combative language also have contributed to a gender gap in the political communication in the second presidential debates of 1996.

Post-debate analysis was divided on the performance of the two candidates in respect to the use of language. Although they didn't refer to the use of metaphors by the two candidates, they did mention the way that the two candidates used language to structure a picture of political life. Ken Bode, of PBS's *Washington Week in Review* explains that during the debates Clinton continued a pattern of "redefining himself into a kind of compassionate national father...who developed a family based agenda that did not reject government, but also did not include any large, ambitious initiatives like his original health care plan" (1997, p. 266). Frances Clines, political reporter for *The New York Times*, described Clinton's communication in different terms, however. She described Clinton as an athlete who had the lead in a race and simply needed to steadily keep on his course (1996, par. 9). Clines believes that this is why Clinton used language

as he did in the final debate. Unlike descriptions of Clinton's performance as a person who understands the culture of the women that he is speaking to given by Bode (1997, p. 266) and Patricia Sullivan and Lynn Turner (1996, p. 121), Clines reveals that Clinton used language as he did simply because he was ahead in pre-election polls.

In the debate analysis presented by political journalists, metaphors of sports and war are readily apparent. Clines says that combative language was laboriously used by the candidates because it forced them to "move quickly from the questions' specific subject matter back to attacks" (Clines 1996, par. 17). In contrast, James Bennett says that Dole and Clinton both wanted to be combative despite the audience's attempt to lead them to specific questions. Once again by means of metaphor, he explains that in the debate both "Bill Clinton and Bob Dole were prowling the red carpet, each trying to land a blow before retreating to his corner, to lean his left elbow against his lectern and brace for the counter-punch" (Clines 1996, par. 4). Bennett believes that even though Clinton "did not rise directly to the bait" (1996, par. 5), as a politician he could not dismiss the attempt to attack in subtle ways.

Although analyzing the sports and war metaphors offered by journalists in the debate analysis extends beyond the boundaries of this project, it is noteworthy to observe that those commentators who viewed the debate used many metaphors of sports and military to describe it. This observation supports the idea that the use of sports and military metaphors does encourage viewers to adopt a form of conception about the topics discussed. In the analysis of Clines and Bennet, the two candidates are described as athletes and war heroes. Thus, reporters who contribute to public discourse also employ the sports metaphor to describe political realities. Future researchers may be able to further explore the ways in which this commentary may have

also alienated those that communicate in the feminine style of political discourse.

Conclusion

Democratic Discussions of the Future

If Robert Dahl is correct, a truly democratic society cannot exist if citizens do not have the ability to understand the issues to be decided (1969, p. 112). It is of the utmost importance democratic representatives properly communicate the positions that they represent. Ensuring that public policies and political values are understood is a prerequisite to effective democratic governance. In light of exit polling done after the last election, the gender gap in the electorate has been featured as a phenomenon of electoral politics. As this analysis has highlighted, explanations for this phenomenon are abundant. Nevertheless, as the scholarly analysis of Ceaser and Busch recognizes, "as with any large-scale political or social phenomenon, it would be a mistake to assume that the gender gap has a single underlying cause or that it can be traced to a single source" (1997, p. 159). Thus, this thesis has approached the gender gap in the presidential election of 1996 from two focused perspectives, public opinion and political communication, with the acknowledgment that these are only two of many possible factors contributing to a full understanding of the gender gap in electoral politics.

This study has explored procedures that may give some citizens easier access to information than others. It has investigated ways in which metaphors of sports or military can result in faulty transactions for those who predominantly communicate in the feminine style of political discourse and also structure a picture of political life foreign to the experience of some women. This thesis has also explored the gender gap in the electorate from a historical perspective, examined public opinion in the electorate in 1996 and established the theoretical

foundation for a study of the use of metaphor in political discourse. Through such a methodology, the gender gap in the 1996 presidential electorate can be better understood and linking its existence to a single source is problematized.

The research into gender difference in public opinion and a gender gap in understanding the political communication presented in this paper challenges many of the journalistic assumptions made about the gender gap in the 1996 presidential election. In examining the first claim, this research reveals virtually no statistically significant gender gaps in the often deemed “women’s issues” of affirmative action and abortion. In addition, there are few statistically significant differences in the way that women and men felt about issues such as political orientation toward conservatism and liberalism, spending in government, welfare and some aspects of the economy. This research does, however, reveal some statistically significant differences in the party affiliation and public opinion about health care and some aspects of the economy between the two sexes. These differences in public opinion by gender are little different than they have been in previous elections where the gender gap in the electorate was not as drastic between the two major party candidates, however.

Failure of the gender gap in public opinion to fully account for the gender gap in the electorate in the 1996 presidential election inspired an investigation into another explanation: a gender gap in political communication. Previous research supports the notion that humans interpersonally communicate in feminine and masculine gendered voices. These differences have been perceived in political communication and a feminine style of political discourse, contrasted with the traditional style of political discourse, has emerged. Although societal norms have socialized males to speak in the masculine voice and females in the feminine voice, either voice

could be used by either sex. Nevertheless, however, language use is often unconscious and these gendered voices surface in political discourse. Research has determined that in political communication, certain terms, such as sports and military metaphors can yield faulty transactions and meaning is lost. Perhaps more importantly, however, these metaphors can also structure political realities in a way that is foreign to the experience of those that communicate in the feminine style as recognized by Blankenship and Robson. A content and rhetorical analysis of the sports and military metaphors used in the second presidential debate of 1996 reveals that Dole used these metaphors much more frequently than Clinton. The inference was made that the gender gap in the electorate in the presidential race of 1996 could be attributed, at least to an extent, to the use of military and sports metaphors and combative language.

Drawing inferences about the way in which this content analysis affects democratic governance is an important task for those concerned about the democratic nature of electoral decisions. Based on the finding that Dole, as a political candidate, used metaphors in the second presidential debate that may have been alienating to those do not communicate in the masculine voice, the following question naturally arises: Would it have made a difference in the outcome of the election if he had eliminated these terms in his political dialogue? Answering this question is complicated. As Graddol and Swann explain, "it is difficult to measure the effects of current linguistic practices; it is equally difficult to measure the effects of linguistic change" (1989, p. 194). Nevertheless, however, if feminist and post-structuralist linguistic scholars are correct, merely avoiding these kinds of metaphors was not a viable option for Dole because language use is "unconscious, a realm of floating signifiers, random connections, improvisations, approximations, accidents, and 'slippage'" (Barry, 1995, p. 129). Thus, it is unlikely that savvy

political strategists of the future can merely eradicate these kinds of metaphors from their candidate's discourse without changing their entire style of political discourse.

Future trends that extending the boundaries of sex roles and exposing the underlying assumptions of sexism will challenge many assumptions of this research. Because women are entering the military and sports worlds, females are often more adapt at understanding the masculine metaphors of sports and war than many men. In a society that is moving towards erasing ridged sex roles that constrain men as well as women, some scholars suggest that theories of gender communication may in the future become obsolete as men and women move toward a common dialogue that is not limited to a choice between speaking in a feminine or a masculine voice (Thorne, Cheris and Henley 1983, p. 214). Nevertheless, knowing that metaphors wield the power to shape the way in which political realities are constructed, the concern is not simply that metaphors of sports and military are unintelligible; rather, the concern is also that they present a slanted picture of political life that may be cognitively dissonant to those that communicate in the feminine style of political discourse. As a democratic community convinced that "each citizen ought to have adequate and equal opportunities for discovering and validating the choice on the matter to be decided" (Dahl, 1969, p. 112), the use of phrases that privilege certain individuals is certainly a concern.

Such challenges to the assumptions of this research do not negate its current validity or insights. Even though both sexes are challenging the notion that sex is inextricably related to the way that one communicates, the research on gender and communication is too extensive and too overwhelming to be overlooked. Currently, our society structures our dialogue along gender lines (Sullivan and Turner, 1996, p. 15; Swann and Graddol, 1989, p. 182; Thorne, Cheris and Henley,

1983, p. 213). Even if gender communication does not necessary mean that women all communicate in the feminine voice and all men communicate in the masculine voice, two distinct gendered voices can be identified in public discourse. Scholar David Zarefsky explained that we must recognize this kind of gender diversity and communicate to ultimately foster understanding. He says,

we need to renew our commitment to American community by pursuing a dialectic between community and diversity. Pursing either alone is destructive. We need not the logical consistency of making a choice but the rhetorical commitment of embracing both. The tension between goals should not be resolved but managed. (Zarefsky, 1995, p. 6)

Zarefsky's observation suggests that even as sex roles expand, feminine and masculine language will persist. He refutes the current structure of political dialogue that is intelligible only to those who understand the communication of the masculine voice and challenges men and women in positions of power to foster a sense of community with their dialogue even if we still live in a world of communication diversity.

Further challenges to this study may be raised by political scientists who warn against using electoral results to make inferences about characteristics of the electorate as a whole. Professor of political science at Virginia Commonwealth University Scott Keeter explains the difficulty in drawing conclusions about the will of the public from election results. He warns that "elections may decide who will govern but little else" (Keeter, 1997, p. 131). Nevertheless, however, election results are likely the only indicators of a measurable gender gap in American political life. Keeter explains that "it is hard to imagine what instrument could provide a clear reflection of contemporary public opinion in America" (1997, p. 131). Ultimately then, examining

trends in the electorate, such as the gender gap in the 1996 presidential election, may be the only way to reveal often obscure procedures that prevent effective participation in democratic life in the United States.

By examining the ways in which the gender gap in the 1996 presidential election may be linked to the use of metaphor, one may come to the hasty conclusion that the gender gap in the electorate is the result of mere manipulation. This analysis has revealed, however, that the existence of the gender gap in electoral politics cannot be explained so easily. As the careful analysis of metaphors has demonstrated, making conclusions about the language used in any text demands precision in analysis and each rhetorical device must be explored with as much precision as this specific study gives to the use of sports and military metaphors. Ultimately, dismissing this kind of analysis clouds the reality that language matters to democratic political institutions.

This analysis concludes by considering one final question: What are the prospects for democratic discussions in the future? This study has contributed a wealth of information about gender and political communication by explaining ways in which metaphors of sports and military can yield faulty transactions and structure a picture of political life cognitively dissonant to those that communicate in the feminine style of political discourse. Yet this recognition itself is unlikely to change political discourse. As Swann and Graddol explain, "linguistic variation and change is unlikely to result from a conscious politically motivated decision on the part of speakers to change their language habits" (1989, p. 189). Although not all political candidates will try to consciously eliminate terms of faulty transaction such as sports and military metaphors, the reality of women comprising 52% of the total electorate (Sabato 1997, p. 145) will ensure successful politicians pay attention to a previously marginalized communication style in public discussions.

Thus, the political process itself may produce politicians who are willing and able to use the feminine style of political discourse.

Areas for Future Study

This analysis has forged new ground by exploring two specific claims about the relation of the gender gap in the electorate to gender gaps in public opinion and political communication. This is a topic that has often been the subject of speculation of citizens, political strategists, analysts and journalists but rarely examined in a scholarly way. This research has merely scratched the surface of this topic, however. Because this thesis makes broad theoretical claims across disciplines, I will structure the areas for future study into three disciplines: political science, communication and philosophy. In each of these three areas, I will offer a brief summary of avenues that await exploration.

Future political scientists can expand this research in a number of ways. The public opinion research in this thesis focuses solely on gender differences on public policy issues without considering other demographic differences in those polled. In addition, it relies on polls from numerous different sources employing different polling techniques. A further analysis might be able to investigate the polling techniques and do a more in-depth analysis of the demographic differences that this analysis failed to consider. In addition, the public opinion information could have been examined on other issues. The information presented in this analysis is only a sample of issues that could have been examined. Further, the salience of each of the issues could be further explored in order determine what the "voting issues" were for both women and men in this campaign. Additionally, the gender gap in the 1996 electorate could be examined from the

perspective of gender gaps in Congressional or local elections. One might also chose to do further research on gender gaps in the presidential electorate in previous elections, such as the election of 1988, where a female vice-presidential candidate was on the Democratic ticket. Political science researchers may wish to further explore some of these areas of research.

There are several areas in the field of communication that also demand further research. This research rests on a content and rhetorical analysis of the metaphors of sports and military in one specific text. To expand the findings of this research, future researchers could analyze other linguistic devices in this text or examine other texts. The conclusions of this research that suggest that the use of metaphors of sports and military may have influenced the way that the electorate understood public policies and political vision could be further strengthened by employing different methodologies. Focus groups comprised of females and males might be shown the debate analyzed in this research. The members of this focus group could be asked specific questions about the way in which they understood the messages delivered by the candidates. In addition, one could explore the way in which women communicate in the public sphere. What kinds of metaphors do they use? How do women in public policy communicate? Another study might explore how women differently absorb the media and understand political communication when mediated by the press. This kind of analysis might also explore women's role in dominating the media to make sure that gender was highlighted in the election of 1996.

Finally, there are many theoretical and philosophical questions that this research inspires. Future research might explore the following questions: What is the result of highlighting a gender gap in electoral politics? By drawing attention to gender as a political variable, do we simply perpetuate the stereotype that there is an intrinsic, irreconcilable difference between men and

women? What are the chances that rhetorical change will lead to social change? These questions are highly theoretical and invite philosophical inquiry into gender constructs in our society and the effects of this construction on democratic rule. They serve as an apt conclusion to this specific analysis because they frame the defining goal of this project: To extend the boundaries of critical thought about American democratic politics and its criteria for effective participation.

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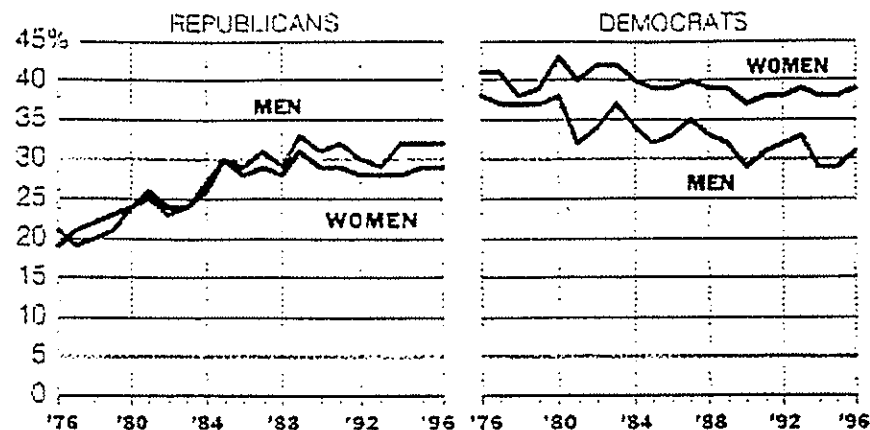
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Figure 3-1: Political Party Affiliation by Gender

Q Do you usually consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an independent or what?

More men than women identify themselves as Republicans . . .

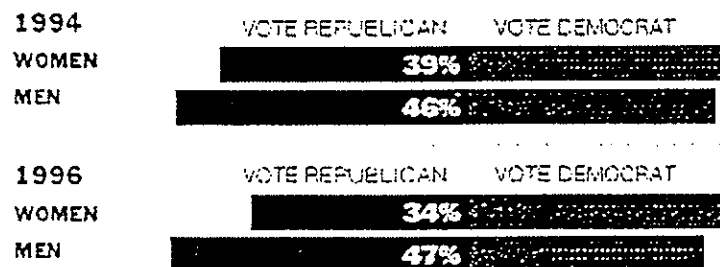
. . . but more women than men call themselves Democrats.



Based on 135 polls by The New York Times and CBS News that have been pooled for each year. A total of 283,932 adults were interviewed by telephone nationwide from February 1976 through April 1996. Independents and those with no response are not shown.

Q If the election for House of Representatives were being held today, would you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

(The 1994 pre-election poll is shown for the best comparison.)



Based on telephone polls in September and October 1994 with a total of 2,117 registered voters and a poll of 1,035 registered voters in April 1996.

Source: "A Widening Gender Gap." (1996, April 21). *The New York Times*. [On-line]. Internet.

June 15, 1997. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com>

Table 4-1: Feminine Language and Masculine Language

Table 1 Differences Between Feminine and Masculine Communication Culture

Feminine Talk	Masculine Talk
1. Use talk to build and sustain rapport with others.	1. Use talk to assert yourself and your ideas.
2. Share yourself and learn about others through disclosing.	2. Personal disclosures can make you vulnerable.
3. Use talk to create symmetry or equality between people.	3. Use talk to establish your status and power.
4. Matching experiences with others shows understanding and empathy ("I know how you feel.")	4. Matching experiences is a competitive strategy to command attention. ("I can top that.")
5. To support others, express understanding of their feelings.	5. To support others, do something helpful—give advice or solve a problem for them.
6. Include others in conversation by asking their opinions and encouraging them to elaborate. Wait your turn to speak so others can participate.	6. Don't share the talk stage with others; wrest it from them with communication. Interrupt others to make your own points.
7. Keep the conversation going by asking questions and showing interest in others' ideas.	7. Each person is on her or his own; it's not your job to help others join in.
8. Be responsive. Let others know you hear and care about what they say.	8. Use responses to make your own points and to outshine others.
9. Be tentative so that others feel free to add their ideas.	9. Be assertive so others perceive you as confident and in command.
10. Talking is a human relationship in which details and interesting side comments enhance depth of connection.	10. Talking is a linear sequence that should convey information and accomplish goals. Extraneous details get in the way and achieve nothing.

Source: Wood, Julia. "Gender, Communication and Culture." *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*. Ed. Larry A. Samovar and Richard Porter. Wadsworth: Belmont, Calif., 1997.

Table 5-1: Metaphors of the Second Presidential Debate

METAPHOR	CANDIDATE	TOPIC
10-point spot	Dole	Affirmative Action
Time out	Dole	International Trade Relations
That's sort of inside baseball	Dole	Welfare Reform
AWOL	Dole	Smoking
Smoke Screen	Dole	Smoking
AWOL	Dole	Economic Outlook
Blow a hole in the deficit	Dole	Economic Outlook
Rules of the game	Clinton	International Trade Relations
Let me start with a sports update -- Braves 1, Cardinals nothing -- early on.	Dole	Introduction

Appendix 1: Metaphors of Sports and Military in Politics

* "As African states have increasingly differentiated themselves into winners and losers, economically and politically, Zaire has helped to anchor the losing team."

-*New York Times*, 4-1-97, Op-Ed

* "If the Zairian parties to the conflict fragment and continue fighting, the country's neighbors could become mired in the chaos, adding weight to Africa's losing team."

-*New York Times*, 4-1-97, Op-Ed

* "Full-Court Press: Lionizing Journalism."

-*The Nation*, p. 5, 3-24-97

* "After Fumbling Last Time, GOP Turns to Orator for Response."

-*New York Times*, 2-5-97, A19

* "It was a great year for some people -- like the kid who reached out at Yankee Stadium and caught the fly ball that helped the New York Yankees become world champions -- but not for others -- like Dick Morris, who had to go through a few days of hell when his toe-sucking exploits hit the news."

-All Politics Homepage/CNN and Time
12-27-96

* "One U.S. diplomat I know who served in Moscow and is now in Africa said to me: 'When I joined the Foreign Service you knew where the goal posts were, and you knew all the plays. But now it's like you're in the huddle and everyone is asking everyone else, 'Which way is the goal line?'"

-*New York Times*, p.A19, 3-20-97

* "To the average American, just one CEO's paycheck would seem like the sweetest deal this side of professional basketball."

-*Washington Times*, 4-10-97, online

* "And if it's true that some GOP members are acting like nervous Nellies, it's not as if they have no reason to be nervous. The number of defectors required to upset the applecart in this fashion has decreased dramatically since the last Congress, a fact that greatly simplifies the task for the conspirators."

-*Washington Times*, 4-23-97, online

- * "Amid the raucous Bush-bashing in Atlanta, Jim Hightower, the populist Texas agriculture commissioner, said the vice-president was 'born on third base and he thinks he hit a triple.'"

-Christian Science Monitor,
4-23-97, online

- * "(Presidential) Debate commentators kept looking for a 'knockout punch'."

-Christian Science Monitor,
4-23-97, online

- * "The next day House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich, R-Ohio, dismisses it as mere 'locker room talk.'"

-David Broder, *Washington Post*
4-16-97, Op-Ed page

- * "High Court Drops Ball on Title IX Controversy."

-George Will, *Washington Post*
4-27-97, Op-Ed page

- * "Watching the slow pirouettes of the dancers in this year's version of the Budget Ballet, it's understandable that voters think this is all about posturing and of little importance to them."

-David Broder, *Washington Post*
4-16-97

- * "If this were a sporting event, I might ask for whom you were rooting -- the kids with asthma who have a tough time breathing whenever there's a bad air day or the powerful representatives of the oil industry, the mining industry, the Association of International Automobile Manufacturers, etc."

-Bob Herbert, *New York Times*, 4-13-97

- * "Two Vulnerable Front-Runners."

-New York Times editorial. 4-28-97

- * "Can it be that in such a Democratic redoubt, a Republican Mayor and Republican Governor are sailing toward easy re-election this year and next?"

-New York Times editorial. 4-28-97

- * "Bell Partners' Next Hurdle is Credibility."

-New York Times, C1, 4-28-97

- * "Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton are engaging in a one-two punch for education."

-Los Angeles Times, 4-18-97, A16

- * "It was obvious from the start (of the Vietnam War) that we were backing the wrong horse, or in this case horses, but we soldiered on."

-Dave Rossie, *Washington Post* 4-17-97

- * "It (Clinton's rhetoric about race relations in baseball) pits the selfless kid against evil 'rednecks' and 'bigots'."

-Tony Snow, *Gannett News Service*, 4-19-97

- * "The Senate and House committees gearing up to investigate campaign finance abuses seem to be on a collision course."

-New York Times, A9, 4-7-1997

- * "We don't mean this as a game of gotcha," one of the Senate's investigators said last week."

-New York Times, A9, 4-7-1997

- * "And it is the result of redoubling a bet on a lame horse."

-George Will, *Washington Post*,
4-6-97

- * "This seems to be the reason Netanyahu zigs and zags from one policy to another, embracing the aims of the Oslo accords one moment and then, when his right flank seems restive, showing the Palestinians that they are not, as they might think and everyone proclaims, his partner."

-Richard Cohen, *St. Cloud Times*,
4-7-97

- * "If we really want to engage the Chinese, we have to show that we are willing to punish them when they break the rules."

-Gary Milhollin, *New York Times*, 4-24-97,
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